

POSTMASTER

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Arafat Meets Pertini

PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir Arafat met Italian President Sandro Pertini in Rome June 13 in the first official contact between Palestinian and Italian leaders since the PLO's departure from Beirut in September 1982.

The meeting, which took place in the President's residence, focussed on the latest developments in the Middle East, and ways to solve the Palestinian problem. Arafat also held separate meetings with the Italian foreign minister Giulio Andreotti, the head of the Italian parliament, and discussed with them his latest proposal to hold an international conference under the auspices of the UN in order to solve the Palestinian problem. Local newspapers quoted reports in the Italian press that the Italian foreign minister expressed special interest in Arafat's peace proposals.

Arafat arrived in Rome to attend the funeral of Italian Communist Party leader Enrico Berlinguer, who died June 11 from a stroke while campaigning for the European parliament elections in Rome. Farouq Qaddumi, head of the PLO's political department, also took part in the funeral.

Arafat's meeting with Italian leaders was described by local Palestinian newspapers as a major diplomatic achievement. An Italian diplomatic source in Jerusalem said that he had the



impression from reading the Italian press that the meeting did not represent a shift in Italian foreign policy. He termed it of "a different and higher intensity."

Israeli government officials were clearly displeased by the meeting. David Kimche, the director-general of the Israeli foreign ministry, called in the Italian Ambassador in Tel Aviv and conveyed to him the govern-

ment's protest.

Arafat last visited the Italian capital on September 15 1982 when he met Pope John Paul II. At the same time he met the Italian president unofficially at the International Parliamentary Union conference. Arafat addressed the conference then.

Italy has publicly expressed its support for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

Israeli Elections Committee Bans Progressive List

After an eight hour debate June 18 Israeli Central Elections Committee decided to ban the new Arab-Jewish Progressive List for Peace from participating in the July Knesset elections. The committee, whose membership is proportionate to Knesset strength of parties, voted for the ban, 17 to 12 with four abstentions.

The Progressive List will appeal to the Israeli High Court against the decision. Palestinian Lawyer Mohammed Mi'ari and retired reserve army general Matti Peled, who headed the List charged that the ban was the result of a deal between the Alignment and the Likud.

Election Committee Head Justice Gavriel Bach who abstained in the vote, notified the List by letter that it was disqualified because it included "subversive elements and tendencies," and "advocates principles that endanger the integrity and existence of the state of Israel." Bach stated that the list also endangered the preservation of its uniqueness as a Jewish state...as expressed in the Proclamation of Independence and the Law of Return.

Representatives of Likud, Agudat Yisrael, the National Religious Party, Tehiya, Ometz, and Tami voted in favour of the ban and representatives of the Israeli Communist Party, and the Citizens' Rights Movement voted against it. The Alignment members split their vote. Mi'ari told *Al Fajr* that the ban was "a well-mastered conspiracy between Likud and the Alignment." Two Alignment representatives did not show up for the meeting and three persons abstained. "Likud and Alignment planned to defeat the bloc," Mi'ari said. "It would have been possible to defeat the motion if all Alignment members had voted with the list."

Head of the Central Election Committee, Bach, told reporters that he had demanded that the defence minister provide him with the secret file against the Progressive List, but the minister refused and said that he

would release the information only to the head of the committee. Bach reportedly refused to review the file on this condition. During the committee's deliberation Geula Coen, from the right-wing Tehiya, proposed to ban the List. She said that the List's programme contains a sentence demanding that Israel withdraw behind the 1967 borders. "This means the abandonment of East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights," she said.

Roni Milo from the Likud attacked "anybody who will support the list because he would support the destruction of Israel." Milo attacked Bach himself because he himself did not propose to disqualify the List. Under questioning by committee members, Avneri defended each member in the list and said, "Our Arab-Jewish list supports the unification of Jerusalem 'with its eastern section as the capital of the Palestinian state and western section as the capital of Israel.'" Mi'ari told the committee, "As Arabs we are part of the Palestinian people but I also consider myself an Israeli." In his reply regarding the Law of Return which bestows citizenship on every Jew who comes to Israel, Mi'ari noted that according to the law, Palestinians were deprived of return to their country. Mi'ari demanded the law be amended. In his reply to the question regarding the implementation of compulsory military service on Arabs, Mi'ari noted that the Israeli government does not want to implement this law on Arabs. Mi'ari asked for adjustments in the law.

Zahi Karkabi, the representative of Rakah, said a ban means that the government opposes any party which is against its policy. He said: "It is a dangerous precedent in the parliament and for democratic life."

During the meeting, representatives of the right-wing parties claimed that the PLO issued instructions for the formation of the Progressive List. Some claimed that the Israeli-Arab bloc

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High Court Shies from Ordering Police to Protect Bidya Land

Israeli High Court refused June 20 to endorse a Nablus district court decision ordering an Israeli land company to stop destruction of Arab-owned land in the village of Bidya. Instead the court instructed the Bidya petitioners to file another petition within 10 days naming the land company in addition to the Israeli ministers of defence and interior and the West Bank military commander who are already included in the petition.

The petition, which was presented in the name of 16 landowners from Bidya on June 17, requested the relevant Israeli officials to show cause why they do not order the Tulkarm police to execute the 1983 Nablus district court order. The petitioners sought High Court intervention after the police refused to follow up their complaints that the Yakir land company was continuing its operations on their land. Nablus Lawyers Nidal Taha and

Imad Salim said they had to ask the Tulkarm police to hand-deliver the court order to the company representative. Earlier Taha and an employee of the Salfit magistrates court tried to submit the court order to the company representative, known as Albert Turgeman, but he said he would only accept it from the police. The Salfit court official kept records of the damage which the company had done to the villagers' land.

The lawyer obtained another decision from the Salfit magistrates court June 4 requesting assistance from the local police in conveying the Nablus district court's decision. The lawyers said that police at first agreed to convey the message, but later said they had orders from the West Bank military governorate's legal advisor, known as 'Axel,' not to deliver the order. Taha said that the Tulkarm police commander,

named George, said that their duty was only to investigate thefts.

The Nablus district court, headed by Judge Haj Zuhair al-Bishtawi, issued its order to the Israeli (Yakir) company to stop work on the land after landowners charged that their land was sold in a fraudulent deal by a local land dealer to the Israeli company. More than 90 dunums, planted with olive orchards and grain, located in the northern part of Bidya, are involved.

Yakir is now working on opening roads to the Israeli settlement Elqana (H), which is now under construction.

Two years ago, Israeli border guards shot and killed a Bidya landowner and wounded two others who had tried to prevent Israeli bulldozers from working on their land, which had also been sold to an Israeli land company by collaborating land dealers.

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Artillery Exchange in Beqa'a Involves Syria

Military attacks against Israeli troops in Lebanon triggered a two-hour artillery duel between Syrian and Israeli forces across the ceasefire lines in the Beqa'a Valley June 14. Israeli troops shot and killed four Lebanese civilians — a seven-year-old child and three bakery workers — in two separate incidents in the past week.

Israeli troops suffered at least seven injuries in the unceasing military attacks by Palestinian and Lebanese resistance fighters. An Israeli Radio report June 19 said Israeli troops were facing 20-30 attacks a week, especially in the Nabatiyeh area.

The artillery duel, the first in two months, occurred shortly after 3:00 pm near the village of Kufr Kook, close to the Lebanese border with Syria. An Israeli foot patrol was ambushed from Syrian lines and, according to the Israeli spokesperson, Israeli

armoured guns opened fire in order to rescue them. Syrian positions both in Lebanon and in Syria replied with heavy barrages of gunfire. An Israeli military spokesperson later claimed that there were no casualties on the Israeli side.

The duels followed more than one month of tension and full military alert on both sides of the ceasefire lines as both sides accused each other of preparing to launch an offense. The Syrian government news organ, *Al Thawra*, charged that Israel was preparing the atmosphere in order to launch an attack on Syrian troops. The paper described Israel's defence minister's statement in which he accused Syria of preparing for an attack as "setting the situation for an American-backed Israeli attack on Syrian troops." One day earlier, two Katyusha rockets were fired from south Lebanon in the

direction of Israeli settlements in the Galilee panhandle. Israeli military sources said that the rockets landed near Misgav Am settlement, on the border, but claimed they did not result in any casualties.

Israeli troops continued to react to military attacks in an increasingly violent and indiscriminate manner. On June 19, Israeli troops shot and killed a seven-year-old boy, Hassan Ali Khalil, from Nabatiyeh. *Reuters* reported that an Israeli patrol opened fire in the direction of houses after it came under attack from a rooftop. Two Israeli soldiers were wounded in the attack and were flown by helicopter to Rambam Hospital in Haifa.

Israeli military sources who acknowledged the attack first claimed no Lebanese civilians were killed. Later they said that a child was wounded.

On the same day, National

Resistance commandos attacked a six-man Israeli patrol near the village of Deir Kifa, 19 kilometres east of Tyre. According to a report by *Agence France Presse*, the patrol suffered several casualties. The remaining soldiers who chased the attackers fell into a second ambush, when a remote-controlled explosive device blew up as they ran near it. Foreign reporters on the scene said that Israeli troops immediately cordoned off the area of the attack and prevented journalists from surveying the battleground.

Foreign reporters also said that Israeli troops fired flares from Mar Elias Hill, which is considered one of the largest Israeli positions in the Sidon area. Lebanese residents reported that Israeli helicopters and armoured cars searched the vicinity, prompting rumours that prisoners had escaped from the tem-

porary detention centre in Mar Elias. The International Committee of the Red Cross has not been allowed to visit detainees in that camp. Israeli troops also suffered five injuries on June 16, south of the Zaharani River. *The Jerusalem Post*, which reported the incident, said that the incident was an apparent suicidal attack, and the driver died in the incident.

Israeli 'precautionary' measures against attacks left three Lebanese civilians dead June 18. An Israeli military spokesperson claimed that the three men were commandos trying to plant an explosive device on a road near Sidon. Jordan TV, however, quoted Lebanese sources as saying that the victims were workers in a local bakery who were on their way home when they were shot and killed by nervous Israeli troops.

POWs Face Trial in Lydda For King George St. Attack

The two commandos who carried out the military attack on King George Street in West Jerusalem last April were brought to military court in Lydda June 20. They are also accused of belonging to the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Their lawyer, Abed Assali, argued at the beginning of the hearing that the court is not authorized to try his clients, *basing his claim on the fourth and fifth Article of the Third Geneva Conventions of 1949*, of which Israel is a signatory, and on international law which he said, considers the two commandos to be prisoners of war. He added that Israel launched a war in Lebanon and is still occupying a part of its territories. Therefore, he remarked, the Lebanese peop-

le, including Wafiq Salha, one of the commandos, has the right to resist the occupation.

The second commando, Amjad Rabaya'a, the lawyer said, is a soldier in the DFLP which is represented in international bodies within the framework of the PLO, which has acquired world recognition as a national liberation movement.

He added that the two commandos did not intend to kill innocent people, but they intended to hold a number of the tourism ministry's employees hostage for the purpose of releasing Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners who are held in Israeli prisons.

The trial was postponed until July 18. (Translation: Al Ittihad, June 21, 1984)

Lebanese Government Discusses Security Plan

The Lebanese cabinet met in Bidfya June 21 for the first time since it received a vote of confidence from the Lebanese parliament last week. Ministers met to discuss means for implementing the security plan in Beirut and the southern region. Syrian Vice-President Abd al-Halim Khaddam visited Beirut June 18 and had lengthy discussions with Lebanese officials to activate the paralysed government. Khaddam discussed with Lebanese President Amin Gemayel and Prime Minister Rashid Karamah the possibility of expanding the 10-member cabinet to include religious factions which are not represented, improving the security situation in

Beirut and southern Lebanon, rehabilitating the Lebanese army and implementing political reforms.

According to Lebanese sources, Khaddam planned to keep local military groups in charge for the security of their areas until the army had been reorganised. Two days later, after Khaddam's visit, Simon Qassis, head of Lebanese Intelligence Service, stated that he is against the conclusions of the military committee for exerted efforts to put an end to the warring atmosphere in Lebanon. Clashes between warring groups erupted June 20 along the demarcation lines in Beirut. At least one person was killed in the clashes.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 216, June 22, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	13
Number of articles totally censored out	5
Number of articles partially censored but used	2
Number of articles passed	6

Aden Talks to Resume

International Palestinian dialogue taking place in Aden, Democratic Yemen, between a Fatah Central Committee delegation and a joint delegation of the Popular and Democratic Fronts for the Liberation of Palestine, the Palestinian Communist Party and the Palestinian Liberation Front was suspended June 13 to enable the heads of delegations to conduct more consultations with their leaders. The talks are scheduled to resume June 22.

Reports that came out after the suspension of the third ses-

sion indicated signs of progress in the dialogue and nearing agreement on the most basic organisational and political issues discussed among the participants.

Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad), Fatah Central Committee member and head of the Fatah delegation, stated that "a spirit of democracy and faithfulness prevailed during the Aden talks." He said in interviews in Amman after the suspension of talks that "the next stage will witness widening of the talks" to enable holding the next PNC as soon as

possible.

Head of the DFLP delegation Yasser Abed Rabbo announced that "a historical statement will be made public at the next session." Describing the Aden talks, Abed Rabbo, who is also PLO information head, said, "There were positive results on the road towards a full agreement." The next session, he said, "will discuss the final text regarding the political and organisational aspects discussed in the last three sessions in Algiers and Aden."

Court Postpones Terrorists' Trial

The third week in the trial of the Jewish terrorists was highlighted by the release of the defendants' names, plea bargainings, harassment in court of a Palestinian lawyer and revelations that settlers received high-level military and political encouragement to act as they did. One defendant received a 10-year prison term. The trials will be postponed till September.

Almost two months after their arrest on April 28, the Jerusalem District Court agreed to release the names of the 25 defendants accused of anti-Arab terrorism. District Court Judge Israel Weiner turned down the defence lawyers' argument that the release of the names would harm the defendants' families and their 70 children. The release of the names revealed what has long been publicly speculated — confirmed through police leaks — that the accused were the core of the settlement leadership and were in close contact with top Israeli military and government officials. Israeli newspapers welcomed the lifting of the ban with front-page coverage of the photos of the accused with detailed biographies (see page 16).

Thirty-year-old Gil'ad Peli, who was the first and only so far

to plead guilty to belonging to the terrorist organisation, causing grievous bodily harm, conspiring to attack the Dome of the Rock, transferring 50 mines from a settlement in the Golan Heights and damaging army property, received a 10-year sentence June 21 for his action. The terrorism charge alone carried a 20-year maximum imprisonment. His lawyer is planning to appeal to the High Court.

Darwish Nasser, an Arab lawyer who was attending the court hearings as an observer on behalf of his clients, Mayors Karim Khalaf and Ibrahim Tawil, was harassed by settlers' relatives who shouted that they wanted PLO representatives out of the courtroom (see story, page 3).

Politicians Encouraged Settlers

A central figure in the major settlement organisation, the Gush Emunim movement, told reporters June 18 that "leading military and political figures encouraged settlers before and after the attacks against Arabs to take such actions." Meir Indor, whose brother Yossi is still being sought as a suspect in the underground case, spoke at a sidewalk press conference in

Gush Emunim's Jerusalem headquarters. Indor, who is closely affiliated with Minister Without Portfolio Ariel Sharon and Former Chief-of-Staff Raphael Eitan, said that he was present at a number of meetings with military and political leaders "at the highest level" at which they encouraged settlers to take action against what Indor called "the PLO in Judea and Samaria."

Rabbi Moshe Levinger, a leading figure in Gush Emunim and a professional settler, told reporters that the "government and army humiliated themselves when they ran away from stones." Levinger boasted that, "We reclaimed their honour."

A nearby taxi driver told Levinger regarding the Jewish underground, "It is a pity that they did not kill all the Arabs." Referring to the driver, Levinger told reporters, "You see, all the people are for us and justify our deeds."

The weekly magazine *HaOlam Haze* said that former Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren had supplied the terrorists with a rare map showing where Jews are allowed to walk in al-Aqsa Mosque's courtyard.

Hebron Prisoners End Strike On Promise of Better Conditions

Palestinian political prisoners in Hebron prison are expected to meet family visitors June 22 for the first time in 11 months after halting their protest strike for an improvement in conditions.

The strike ended June 18 after the prison management agreed to most of the prisoners' demands. An *ad hoc* committee of prisoners' relatives and friends intervened in the negotiations last week and concluded the agreement. Haj Munir Qarajeh and Rajeh Da'na, both Hebron residents, asked prison authorities

June 11 if they could meet one or two of the striking prisoners. After meeting with Fayed Abu Hashash, the representative of the striking prisoners, and with prison authorities, an agreement was made calling for prison authorities to: improve the quantity and quality of the food; increase time for the daily walk (inside the prison) from one to one-and-a-half hours; increase the number of beds and mattresses; supply prisoners with hot water; permit books and magazines to enter the prison; allow prisoners to wear clothes of their choice;

widen the openings of windows; give permission for prisoners to visit one other; and to improve the guards' treatment of prisoners. The prisoners' demand that the wall erected in the middle of the daily walk area be removed was not agreed upon. But prisoners said they would continue to raise this demand. Prisoners agreed to resume receiving visitors twice monthly and the daily walk period. During the 11 months they had also observed periodic hunger strikes. (Translations: Al Fajr, Al Itihad, June 20, 1984)

Settlers Harass Palestinian Lawyer in Courtroom

The Jerusalem district courtroom was transformed June 17 into a mob scene when terror defendants, settlers and their relatives attempted to eject a Palestinian lawyer, calling him a 'PLO presence.' Advocate Darwish Nasser, from Tirez, a member of the Israeli Bar Association, was attending the trial as an observer for Karim Khalaf and Ibrahim Tawil, the dismissed mayors of Ramallah and al-Bireh who were targets of assassination attempts in 1980 — for which several of the settlers were on trial.

The courtroom full of settlers and their relatives shouted and insulted Nasser, describing him as the 'PLO representative' in the courtroom. Twenty-two settlers were in the dock facing charges of membership in an illegal Israeli terrorist organization and committing attacks against Palestinian targets in the occupied territories during the last five years.

Shaul Nir, defendant No. 3, who is charged with murder and attempted murder, shouted, "We will not let the PLO be represented in the courtroom," and

leapt off his seat and approached the bench where the lawyer sat. His mother called out: "The PLO has no place here. We cannot sit with the PLO."

When the three judges, Ya'acov Bazak, Finkleman and Zvi Cohen, entered the court and were seated, one of the relatives in the back row shouted: "The PLO is in this room. We do not accept the presence of the PLO here." Judge Bazak silenced him. One of the defendant's 14 advocates requested that something be done about the presence of a friend of the West Bank mayors in the courtroom. Bazak silenced him saying that he had no standing and that the judicial system is based on an open courtroom.

The father of Yehuda Etzion, defendant No. 2, who first publicized that Darwish Nasser was in the courtroom, left in protest because Nasser was not ejected. He was followed by 75 others. In the courtyard, supporters of settlers demonstrated, delivered harangues against the PLO and performed elaborate prayers in which they

blew trumpets. The court continued and some of the settlers returned to the courtroom later.

Nasser, who was one of the lawyers who defended Palestinian commandos of the Daboyya operation in 1980, told *Al Fajr* that much publicized tolerance in the courtroom encouraged settlers and their relatives to practice terror in the courtroom. In earlier hearings, defendants were free to walk around, buy refreshments and make telephone calls without police escorts. The discrimination clearly shown in the courtroom is part of the settlers' activities, Nasser said. He expressed his sorrow because of the lawyers' and journalists' passive acceptance of the settlers' demand in the courtroom. Nasser pointed out that in the fifties, the Israeli authorities changed the law in which only Israeli lawyers were permitted to enter the courtroom, to enable a judge from Germany to attend to defend Eichmann. Nasser, 44, a native of Tirez in the Triangle, graduated from Tel Aviv University in 1969.

Government School Teachers Appeal For National Consideration

Representatives of teachers in West Bank government schools called on local universities last week to reserve placement for children of teachers who particularly suffer from the worsening economic situation. The teachers also plan to ask for a representative in the Higher Education Council.

In letters to the board of trustees of local universities, teachers called for priority for their children as a "national service." Government school teachers' salaries are among the lowest of West Bank professionals.

The General Committee of Teachers also appealed to student councils to offer scholarships for the teacher's committee which could be distributed among children of teachers. They appealed to the president of Bethlehem University to exempt students in the teacher's college from tuition fees to encourage

teachers to pursue requested higher studies.

Teachers' representatives also requested the lawyer's union to provide free legal aid to the teacher's committee while they are attempting to receive official recognition for their union. Last month the committee endorsed a set of constitutional bylaws for the teacher's union.

Two weeks ago the committee again demanded the Israeli liaison officer of education in the West Bank to improve their conditions and supplied the officer with a comparative study of salaries of teachers in government, UNRWA and Israeli schools. Israeli school teachers earn almost three times the amount that West Bank teachers are paid. The government teacher's committee was formed in 1980 to improve the educational conditions of teachers. It led a three-month strike three years ago to protest against low salaries.

SILKSCREENS ON EXHIBIT

Artist Kamal Boullata Returns to Jerusalem



Artist Kamal Boullata returned home to his native Jerusalem after 18 years with an exhibit of his works at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre June 17.

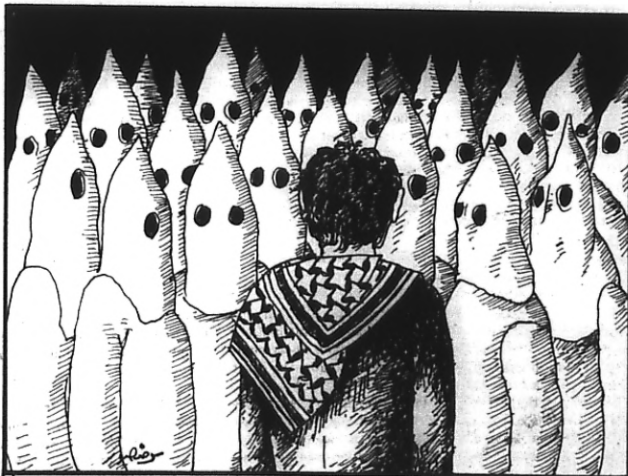
Boullata, who left Jerusalem in 1966 as a 24-year-old, told local journalists that he hopes to be able to return to Jerusalem permanently and participate in the development of the Palestinian artistic movement. Hundreds of Palestinians raved over Boullata's 23 serigraphs now on display at Jerusalem's new art center. The artist contributed proceeds from the sale of the framed silkscreens to the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre. Most of the works were already sold by the second day.

A Dutch company which is making a film about Boullata's life, with a focus on his homecoming to Jerusalem, accom-

panied him. At the press conference Boullata spoke about his experience of returning to his homeland as a tourist. He said that he plans to initiate legal steps to obtain residency documents to return to Jerusalem permanently. He said he would like to teach art at the proposed Fine Arts School at Bir Zeit University.

Boullata teaches contemporary Arab culture at Georgetown University in Washington, DC, where he now lives. He has authored and edited a number of books on culture.

His one-man show, which took him four years to prepare, has been on tour in major world capitals. Proceeds of the exhibit have established a scholarship fund, to be administered by the American Palestine Educational Foundation, for two Palestinians to study art.



Desert School Protests Lack of Water

Students at Abu Kaf Elementary School, in the desert village of Abu Kaf, north of Bir Saba, went on strike June 17 and 18 in protest over the Israeli authorities' refusal to supply the school with water.

The students' parents committee said that the strike may resume if water is not supplied. For 23 years the Israeli authorities have claimed that water lines could not be extended because the school was 'temporary.'

The strike was called after several school children suffered dehydration and sun stroke last month from the excessive heat. The students were rushed to hospital in Bir Saba.

The school administration and the local students' parents committee had appealed to the Israeli ministry of education for water supplies but no action was forthcoming.

The two-day warning strike was called by the parents committee. All 230 students along with more than 30 family members gathered in the playground and raised slogans denouncing the 'discriminatory Israeli practices,' Yacoub Yacoub, an activist in the Beduin Rights Movement from Bir Saba, reported to *Al Fajr*. One placard read: "You deprived us of irrigation water but you won't deprive our children from drinking water." Students also raised a poster of a scale showing permanent imbalance between Jews and Arabs.

Other placards spelled out opposition to the authorities' plans to close the seventh and eighth-grade classes in the school and to transfer students to the village of Tel Saba, more than 10 kilometres away. Transportation between the two villages is almost non-existent, and students would have to make the daily trip to school on foot.

Ibrahim Abu Kaf, head of the parents committee, called on the Israeli ministry of education for an immediate positive response to their demands and warned that the strike would escalate if nothing was done.

Beduin Demand Trial for 'Security' Officers

The Society for the Aid and Protection of Beduin Rights in Israel demanded June 4 that a few people, some of whom are members of the green patrol and others of the border police, be brought to trial. The society claims that they harass unprotected civilians merely because they are members of the Arab minority.

A press conference took place in Tel Aviv's Journalists' House in which the society's chairperson, Nuri al-Uqbi, and members Dr. Ghazi Fallah, Yacoub Yacoub and Ahmed Suleiman al-Kuram, from the al-'Asim tribe, participated. Al Kuram said, "I was beaten up by a policeman and an officer of

the border police. They hit me hard, then pulled me to the side of the road in order to avoid any eyewitnesses. I fainted. The next day I was operated on in the Soroka Hospital."

In addition, the society spokespersons told of cases of mistreatment of Beduin by the green patrol. They said on Sunday the green patrol opened fire on a herd of cows owned by families from the al-Hujarat tribe in the Naqab. The green patrol killed six cows. When asked why the society doesn't complain to the minister of interior, to the police, to the police high commander and to other public figures, the spokespersons replied,

"How many times can we turn, with the help of lawyers, to the courts? We complain to the police, send written complaints to ministers and to public figures and always we are notified that our letter was received. So far, these appeals have not produced any results." The society spokespersons accused the government of Israel with "a cruel and discriminatory policy towards us. By this policy we have been forced out of our lands and our property has been stolen. Their intention," they said, "is to force the Beduin to live together in Israeli-built centres and to turn them into a cheap labour force for the country." (Translation: Davar, HaAretz, June 5, 1984)

Soldiers Rob Priest at Jericho Roadblock

The head of the Russian ecclesiastical mission in Jerusalem, Archimandrite Anthony Grabbe, was assaulted and robbed by two armed men in Israeli military uniform June 15. The men escaped with the cleric's black limousine after stopping him on the Jericho-Jerusalem road. Grabbe, who was returning to Jerusalem from Amman, suffered facial wounds in the inci-

dent. A chauffeur and an accountant who accompanied him were not injured. The robbers took US\$5,000 and JD700.

According to police the two Israeli set up a roadblock and ordered the passengers out at gunpoint. They then forced the priest and his two aides to lie on the floor of a stolen Israeli army car. The

drove the army car into the hills, shot out the tyres and fled with the limousine.

In a letter to the *The Jerusalem Post* June 18, Grabbe corrected an earlier report in the paper which had alleged that JD200,000 was stolen, a report which seemed "to portray a Christian clergyman as a possible currency speculator."

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Progressive List

represents the PLO officially and practically.

Mi'ari said that the Central Elections Committee ignored their political programme which is based on equality between Arabs and Jews, the struggle for establishing a just peace, the reciprocal recognition between the PLO and Israel and the establishment of the Palestinian state.

Representatives of government parties incited against the bloc by saying that Mi'ari does not support the right of return of Jews to Palestine. Peled replied that Cohen's claim that members of the List have committed cri-

minal offences is a lie.

Mi'ari and Peled told *Al Fajr* that they will file their objections against the ban in the Israeli High Court within a week. Peled said that what happened in the committee proves: "This is a totalitarian regime. Democracy was killed." The first five in the Progressive List for Peace are Mi'ari, Peled, Rev Riyah Abu Assal from the progressive front in Nazareth, Yacoub Arnon from Sheli, and Walid Sadeq from Taibeh village. The Kahana fascist bloc was also banned from the Knesset election June 17. Peled believes that Likud and the Alignment agreed to ban the Progressive list and Kahana's in tandem.

The Israeli defence ministry had notified the Progressive List for Peace June 1 that Defence Minister Moshe Arens was

considering banning the List on the pretext that it "would become the PLO's voice in the Knesset." The defence ministry's legal adviser, Moshe Kokhonovsky had also informed Lawyer Mi'ari that Arens was considering a recommendation by the Israeli intelligence service, Shin Bet, to outlaw the List, based on the British Mandate Defence Emergency Regulations of 1945. Yuval Ne'eman, from Tehiya, minister of science and technology and settlement activist, called Dr Strangelove by Israeli lefts, describes the List leaders as "those whose primary ambition is to annihilate the state of Israel."

Retired High Court Judge Haim Cohen said two weeks ago that he opposed the banning. He said that in his legal opinion neither a minister nor the Central Elections Committee has the right to ban a Knesset list.

Shiah Families Forced to Vacate For Jewish Cemetery Expansion

Thirteen families living in Jerusalem's Shiah quarter were ordered out of their homes by July 2 to make room for the expansion of a Jewish cemetery on the western slope of the Mount of Olives.

The 140 residents of the houses under threat say that Israeli police gave them 21 days to leave voluntarily, otherwise "eviction will be carried out in accordance with the court order."

An Israeli development company called, Tomar claims that it bought the land in 1928 and offered to sell it back to the 13 families that now live there for JD10,000. The West Jerusalem municipality has argued that the houses must be destroyed because they were built without a permit and the area is earmarked for expansion of the cemetery.

Jerusalem district court issued a number of eviction orders dating back to November 27, 1977. Even before that, residents

said, Israelis came to their land, surveyed it and told them the land belongs to an Israeli company.

Simultaneously, the Jerusalem municipality has taken steps to push the landowners into leaving. A stone wall, higher than the level of the houses, was built next to them to prevent residents from reaching their homes via the main road. Residents insist that they will not leave their homes. Last week they issued a statement appealing to national institutions to join them in their fight against the eviction orders.

The families threatened with eviction are: Yehia Dkeldk (10 members); Nabila Hoshah (9); Intizar Kutub (5); Abu Maher Arfan (10); Kamal Qanbar (9); Hamadeh Razeem (8); Soud Razeem (9); Amin Shamasneh (5); Mohammed Shamasneh (11); Mohammed 'Alqam (10); Khiri 'Alqam (11); Kamal Dandis (6); and Widad Dandis (6). (Translation: *Al Fajr*, June 15, *Al Talia*, June 14, 1984)

Soldiers Harass School Kids On Overnight Trip

"The journey turned into a trauma," complained teachers of seventh and eighth grade pupils of the Tel Saba Beduin school in nearby Bir Saba. While on the school trip, teachers and pupils were harassed by members of the Israeli army.

"At midnight May 23 when the pupils were sleeping at a campsite near Eilat, suddenly two young men speaking fluent English appeared," said a teacher. "They wanted beer and girls. But when one of the teachers explained to them that these were school students and asked them to leave, the two began to curse and became wild. The two, believed to be Israelis, said, 'You, the Arabs, have no right to exist in the (Israeli) state and you should be annihilated. Sharon will annihilate you, stinky Arabs.'"

"The following day at eight o'clock, another group of soldiers came. Some of them were wearing Israeli army uniforms and some of them were in their underwear. They were walking among the teachers and suddenly they attacked one of the teachers. They grabbed him and threw him around. One of the soldiers threatened him and said, 'I'll stick a bullet into your head, son

of a bitch Arab.' The pupils began to cry. We asked them to get on the buses and then one of the soldiers turned to the pupils and said, 'I'll annihilate you by arms. Wait until Sharon comes into power and annihilates you.'"

The pupils got on the buses and one of the teachers tried to speak with the soldiers' commander. The teacher says the commander shouted at him and said, "There is nothing I can do. These are the men I have to work with."

The teachers then turned to the Eilat police for help. A police patrol van went out with the teachers to the site. The soldiers' commander suggested a *suha*, an Islamic traditional form of reconciliation and asked the teachers not to make a big deal out of the incident. "Your complaints will go to heaven anyway," he said. "No one will hear you." When the teachers rejected the *suha*, the commander asked the police to cancel the complaint. "These are Arabs," he said. But the policemen refused.

When asked about the incident, the Israeli army spokesperson told *Hadaashot*, "We don't know about such a case." (Translation: *Hadaashot*, May 31, 1984)

New Magazine for Women's Work Committees

Women's Work Committees in the occupied territories published in mid-June a magazine "*Kifah al-Mar'a*" (The Struggle of Women) under the provision of the British Mandate's 1945 publication law allowing "one-time only publication" which is still applied in the country.

The magazine contains articles and research about women's situations in the occupied territories and women's struggle and historical experience in national liberation movements. A report about the third general conference recommendations and resolution of the WWC, held in April, is included.

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Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Naar, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630) is published weekly for \$50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

What Next?

Relatives of the settler terror underground on trial in the Jerusalem court staged a walkout protest from the courtroom on Sunday June 17. They were unnerved by the presence of Nazareth Lawyer Darwish Nasser who represents one of the terrorists' victims—they referred to his presence as that of the PLO. For further emphasis, the father of one of the defendants shouted to the judges, "The PLO is in this room."

Lawyers for the settler defendants, whether by active participation in the demand or by silently accepting it, although they, like Nasser, are members in the same Israel Bar Association, somehow accepted the terror suspects' and their relatives' argument that Nasser's presence in the court needed to be resolved. This in itself indicated how fragile their relationship as colleagues is and how they were willing even passively to accept the libelling of a member of their bar.

The judges also did nothing to distance themselves from the settlers' demands and accusations. For although Chief Judge Bazak rejected the request 'out-of-hand,' according to *The Jerusalem Post*, the same paper reported that the judge's stand was "that the trial system is based on an open courtroom," leaving open the interpretation that his 'honour' identified with the settlers' demand and accusations but based his rejection on legal aspects. *The Jerusalem Post* helped readers associate the Palestinian as the embodiment of the PLO by the headline "Row In Courtroom at PLO Presence." Needless to say, in Israeli terminology, any PLO presence is unwanted.

In order not to be blamed with imbalanced derivation from the above facts we can at least say the people in charge of the legal system and the media in Israel believe that every Palestinian, for the mere reason of being born Palestinian, is a PLO member regardless of his beliefs, occupation or position in life. Apparently the 'PLO' has moved from a Beirut apartment building to benches in Israeli courtrooms.

We know for a fact what various Zionists in power in Israel — from government to Knesset to other ruling bodies — believe and practice against Palestinians: Koenig in the Galilee, Drobless in Jerusalem, Cohan-Avidov in the Knesset and the many plans to expel refugees from their homes.

Israeli plans to abolish the PLO from existence were well-announced and attempts to carry them are well-known to the world, starting from the Karameh battles in 1968 through the air raids and indiscriminate bombardment in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon until now. So far the only dealing Israel had with the PLO was through the barrel of the gun and the world was willing to believe that Israel's actions were against so-called 'terrorists.' We wonder when the same methods will be used against the Palestinian people here under the same guise. With what is going on now in Israeli courtrooms, we don't believe it is very far.

Taxes... Taxes

Not only do prices rise to immediately devour the limited income of the ordinary person for basic necessities but this rampaging inflation is coupled with a sharp devaluation of the official Israeli currency and with an ever-growing increase and diversity of taxes.

One is flabbergasted, caught between the hammer and the anvil. No sooner does one raise his head to inhale the breeze of the new day than he becomes immersed in the distress of the accumulated taxes.

Israel, in the past, ploughed through all its establishments and systems to adjust itself to these troubled economic conditions. It is now confronting its destiny, wondering what caused this inflation and what its political and social consequences would be. This confrontation is manifest to the beholder by widespread strikes, in addition to the ongoing debate in some Israeli circles on the role of the war in Lebanon and the role of settlements in creating the first indications of destroying the Israeli economy.

Nevertheless, Israeli society finds protection from its own government which compensates, to a reasonable extent, for this confusion in income, prices and taxes.

People in the occupied territories have nothing to fall back upon. We don't even have the right to stage a strike to express our refusal of the Israeli economic policies imposed on us.

We are faced daily with accumulated heavy taxes, while the concerned authorities do not provide us with any economic protection in return.

We are faced with the growth of these taxes to an alarming proportion. We find no justification for this economic pressure other than exhausting us to the maximum economically.

Otherwise, how could we explain, for instance, the rise of the mandatory insurance taxes this year from IS2000 last year to IS50,000 this year. This is only one example.

Individual remedies for this topic do not constitute a solution. Our institutions must face the issue openly and seriously so as to support our presence now and in the future.

AL FAJR ARABIC
June 18

The European Attitude Toward Palestine



Arafat



Andreotti

There are many indications that now is a good opportunity for the Palestinian cause to gain the support of Western European countries. This is evident through the dealings of these countries with the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people:

* Sympathizing with the Palestinian people and supporting their just struggle for their legitimate right to self-determination and to an independent state. This sympathy and support were expressed by Olaf Palme, the Swedish prime minister, during Arafat's visit to Sweden, shortly after the departure of the Palestinian fighters from Tripoli on December 31, 1983.

* The positive results of Arafat's visit to Rome, a few days ago, to attend the funeral of the Italian Communist Party Secretary-General Berlinguer. On this occasion Arafat met Italian President Sandro Pertini and Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, who accorded Arafat

a warm welcome. They also expressed their support for the Palestinian people and their just struggle.

* The expected meeting in Amman on July 10 between the Palestinian leader and French President Mitterrand. France attaches great importance to this meeting as is evidenced by its sending a special envoy within the next few days to Tunisia to hold talks with PLO officials.

Taking into consideration the importance and the efficiency of the role that Western Europe can play, on a world level, in finding a peaceful and just solution to the Middle East crisis, we would like to point out the need for some European countries, like Britain, to follow in the footsteps of France, Italy and Sweden. These European countries should change their negative public policy toward the Palestinian cause, so as to join effectively in the search for the desired solution of the crisis in the region.

We would like to seize this opportunity to point out that the Palestinian position is so clear that it leaves no room for any country in the world — not only in Western Europe — to hesitate in working hard for a just peace in the region. The clarity of the Palestinian position is well expressed in recent statements by Arafat in which he stressed PLO readiness for direct negotiations with Israel, and for mutual recognition, provided that Israel recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. He also expressed the PLO's aversion to violence against civilians, together with carrying on the legitimate struggle until the Palestinian people achieve their legitimate rights.



Mitterrand

AL FAJR ARABIC
June 19

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

The most significant political phenomenon in the present election campaign is the rise and crystallisation of a new fascist sector in Israel. Through the eleventh Knesset, fascism is striving to achieve legitimacy from the institutions of Israeli democracy and from its own institutionalisation in order to stabilise its power. The new fascist power is different than the traditional Right that has grown it on four points:

A. Overtly nurturing hatred against the Arabs and dropping any pretention of attempting to come to terms with the Palestinians, even on an autonomy plan: frank calls for mass expulsion of the Arabs as the only solution are heard openly. Phrases like "to gouge out their eyes," "drugged cockroaches" and "a cancer that strangles Jerusalem" indicate a new political culture overwhelming the Israeli arena.

B. Advocating the use of force and violence as a superior arbitrator in history and the only means of justice: showing disgrace and contempt towards "beautiful souls" and "surrenderists," who are not rushing happily to use the power the Israeli army entitled them to.

C. Hoping for an internal revolt within the conflict-ridden Israeli regime and the creation of a 'strongman' regime: for this it is necessary to have a total delegitimisation of the opposition, of criticism and dispute and for the state security to squelch individual freedoms.

Ariel Sharon is the one who started a new political style which turns opponents into traitors whose place is outside the camp. The first goal of Sharon is to annihilate the militant sectors of the peace camp and to silence any husky voice within the national harmony.

(Former chief-of-staff Raphael Eitan's words in front of youth, that "not only the salaries of Knesset members should be cut..." are well-suited to the disgust of the petty and corrupt Israeli parliamentarism and the longing for the Strong Man.

D. The religious sector has been overcome by a movement that amalgamates messianic longings for redemption with the idea of the militant revolution that will hasten the coming of the Messiah through "the redemption of Eretz Israel" by force of arms.

On the other hand, the religious establishment, led by the Chief Rabbinate, strives to bring into power the halachic rules upon the state and to turn it into a theocracy to be ruled by "The Higher Torah Council" Digging out the bones of goyim from

Israel's Slide into Fascism

by Michal Schwartz

tombs, in order to prevent the impurification of the honour of the Jewish dead, and the claim of placing rabbis above the law are signs of contemporary times. The amalgamation of secular and religious nationalism in the struggle for the Jewish people's renaissance and the renewed domination over Eretz Israel characterises Israeli fascism.

Israeli fascism did not grow from nothing. Its seeds were sown much earlier than the war in Lebanon and even before the 1967 war. Recognisable expressions of it may be clearly seen even in the 1948 war.

From its beginning, Zionism was characterised as a militant movement living on its weapons which creates by force concrete facts and ignores human moral laws and international law. In the name of the wrong suffered by Jews in Europe, it was forbidden to criticise their deeds in Palestine. The question of their physical security was put at the top of the spiritual world of the proud sabra (Israeli Jewish native youth). The image of the bent-back Jews in exile turned into the symbol for disgust and Moshe Dayan turned into the model of the new Israeli.

In parallel, the Palestinian Arab turned into a subhuman being, a non-existent entity, an enemy, primitive, humiliated and bloodthirsty. All this was in order to justify their expropriation, their expulsion, the domination of their land and their country. A crusade was started to raze the Arab character from the country and to turn it into a Jewish one. When it could not be obliterated, Arab culture was oppressed and mocked.

The wide consensus around this during the first years of Israel and the limitations put on the internal debate about it permitted a parliamentary game and freedom of debate for Jews, within agreed-upon frameworks. The state's leaders spoke in the name of terms like 'socialism,' 'equality,' 'fraternity' and 'peace.' There were those who knew in advance, like Ben Gurion and Begin, that after overcoming the first half of the country, the second half would sooner or later also be overcome. Others maintained that since Israel was created by an original sin of no choice, the model society that would be created would be satisfied with what it had. With this illusion as background, Zionist liberalism grew and took a central place in the Israeli political arena.

Jewish Chauvinism

Another tendency that has marked Zionism from its beginning is a narrow and distorted idea about the Jewish question. Zionism isolated the Jewish

question from universal processes and from societies in which Jews lived and by which they were influenced; it constructed a racist myth about Jewish uniqueness, about anti-Semitism's eternity and about the superiority of the Jewish genius. A combination of the religious version of the master race theory and the chosen people theory with the secular Palmahnik whose approach was "Um Shmum" (Um None) and "all the world is against us" has created an Israeli figure whose world view is chauvinistic.

Hanita and Kiryat Arba

Ever since colonialist dynamics began, it has not been possible to stop it. During 19 years, it grew slowly until it broke free in the war of 1967. Dispute about the occupation began to strip away the facts from their robes and to expose them in naked truth. A straight line passes between Hanita and Kiryat Arba — between the conquest of Haifa and the conquest of Nablus.

The generation that was educated on the values of the 1967 war considers that every claim about a difference between the 'wall and tower' settlements and Elon Moreh is hypocrisy. It sees Gush Emunim as the authentic continuation of militant Zionist pioneers.

The words 'socialism,' 'peace' and 'equality' — which in the past expressed a consensus — have no place anymore in 1984 Israel. There is no place for those who try to speak on their behalf. It seems that [Defence Minister] Moshe Arens is right when stating that he represents a consensus of 80 percent of the people today. The generation that was educated on the values of the 1967 war doesn't believe that anything is wrong about murdering Palestinians, that they should not be executed, that something is wrong about occupation and that Jews and Arabs as humans are equals. The educational system, the situation in the occupied territories and the war in Lebanon have educated them to the very opposite.

After the war of 1967, violence became the way of life, a necessity that robbed all the internal resources of Israeli society. Intolerance towards criticism increased as violence became more essential, systematic and overt. Questioning, hesitation, Zionist liberalism itself became a luxury that damaged Israeli war efforts. They have no grounds in 1984 Israel.

continued on page 9

There is a state now that calls itself Israel and that pretends to be the centre of Jewish life in the world today. It has a government and an army whose activities and interests are contrary to the ideals of the Torah, the written and oral law of the Jewish people. Based on power and close cooperation with sympathizers in America, the government of Israel's main outside help is that of Zionist and pro-Zionist American politicians who seek to obtain the financial and general support of Zionist leaders in the United States. With this arrangement the Zionist establishment effectively controls some essential activities in Washington while the United States of America has fallen into the trap against which George Washington warned so eloquently long ago when he was about to end his government service.

The Jews most faithful to the Torah have nothing to do with all these political machinations. They aim to

America As Zionism's Savior

abide by the laws of the Torah and they are opposed to the Zionist activities which have brought so much harm to the Jews and other peoples. They are unfortunately greatly affected by Zionist actions and pronouncements despite their complete opposition to Zionism which has been condemned so often by the foremost rabbinical leaders. In Zionism self-reliant pride and arrogance take the place of faith in Divine help and even "religious" Zionists readily exchange their Emuna (trust in G'd) for military adventurism. The Kial Israel (Jewish faithful community) has under its rabbinical leadership fought the in-

roads of Zionism for nearly 100 years and these Jews are convinced that Zionism is the greatest enemy of the Jewish people.

These Jews are patiently awaiting the arrival of the Moshiah and meanwhile they have no territorial aims or ambitions. To the Jews the very ground of Eretz Israel is holy regardless of its ruler but its occupation by the Zionists is a source of very greatest regret. Political Zionism, which gives Jews the option of being "non-religious" or even "anti-religious" and which in principle denies the obligation of ALL Jews to observe and recognise the oral and

written laws of the Torah, is by its nature and form ingreave and irreconcilable conflict with the essence of Judaism and indeed the establishment of a pre-messianic Jewish government in Eretz Israel is not permitted. Jews, who are not contaminated by Zionism, are loyal citizens of the countries in which they live. They are also eager to help other Jews who may need their assistance wherever they may be. They have no dualloyalty. They are very much opposed to Zionist propaganda that aims to tie all Jews to the Zionist state.

According to latest figures immigration to the state of 'Israel' has trickled to a few thousand per year while tens of thousands leave the country annually. These figures speak most eloquently for themselves.

American Neturei Karta
(Friends of Jerusalem)
New York

The Palestinian population of Acre, an ancient coastal town in the north of Palestine, has witnessed an escalation in police harassment over the past few months. Tens of incidents of police harassments affecting scores of residents have been reported in the town. The harassment, which generally involves arbitrary arrest and beating by the Israeli police in the streets, was halted only after representative bodies and figures from the town's Palestinian community began a protest campaign and initiated local popular meetings, contacts and formal complaint letters to the Israeli officials. Community leaders view these incidents as danger signals which, they believe, are intended to create an atmosphere of intimidation in the town in order "to speed up the execution of the old plan and to force us from this town to somewhere else where we don't want to go," one of them remarked.

According to many residents, policemen have taken to questioning people in the streets or in the cafes and in many cases taking them to an isolated spot and beating them. In most cases, the victims were not taken to the police station or charged, yet they were 'punished' by the police. "This is evidence that these measures are illegal," said Mahmoud Abu Shanab, a former member of the now predominantly Jewish council. He added that the policemen know they cannot take their victims to the police station if there is no charge.

In one of these incidents, on April 16, a number of policemen entered a cafe in the town and asked everyone present to show his ID card "in a very humiliating way," said one of those in the cafe at the time. Some of the men wondered aloud why ID cards should be shown without reason. "Immediately," said Abdo Abu al-Ai, 22, "the policeman handcuffed me and two others, took us to a remote place outside the town and beat us. I fell unconscious and was left there." According to him, Israeli police enter the cafes at least once a week in a provocative manner and no one who happens to be there dares to say anything.

In another incident last month, three policemen took Jamil Ayayta, Mahmoud Aboud and Issam Jallam, all between 22 and 24 years of age, to a Jewish neighbourhood in the town and allowed a number of Jewish thugs to beat them ruthlessly while the Palestinians sat handcuffed in the police car.

A month ago, an Israeli drove his car at a high speed through the town's port. An elderly woman was hit by the side of the car and fell down. The driver did not stop or even slow down and almost overran someone else. When this person shouted, the driver got out of the car and beat the man. Palestinian residents in the area rushed to his aid and out of anger overturned the car. Over 20 people were arrested in the incident and some are still detained. "The Israeli driver," said Mahmoud Abu Shanab, "who could have caused the death of two Palestinians, is free."

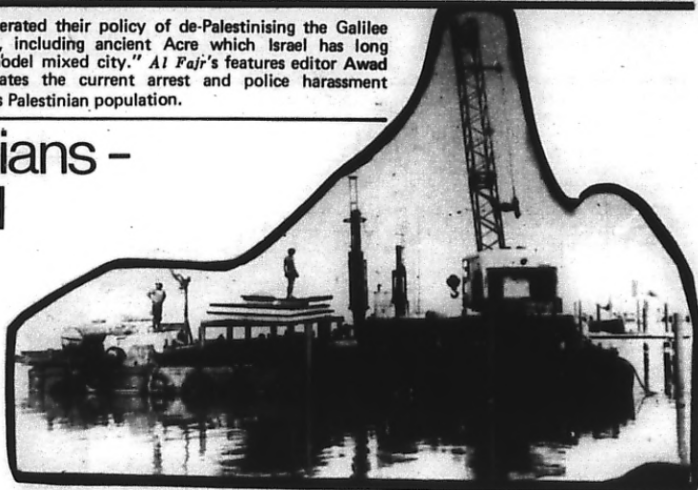
According to Abu Shanab, there are many more incidents which go unreported because the people who are involved are afraid that the Israeli authorities "would take revenge on them."

Harassments and acts of intimidation are also carried out by the Israelis against Acre's fishermen. But very little information is available on this issue, some say, because the fishermen live in constant fear that their licences might be withdrawn or not renewed if they complain. Ali Abu Shanab was one of the very few Palestinian fishermen in Acre who was ready to tell this story.

On May 22, Ali Abu Shanab and his partners were in their fishing boat close to the Nahariya coast, 15 kilometres north of Acre, occupied with

The Israelis have accelerated their policy of de-Palestinising the Galilee and the coastal areas, including ancient Acre which Israel has long propagandised as a "model mixed city." *Al Fajr's* features editor Awad Abdel Fattah investigates the current arrest and police harassment campaign against Acre's Palestinian population.

Palestinians - Pushed to the Sea in Acre



"...an old plan to force us from this town..."

Top: Fishermen in Acre's port. Left: The Old City of Acre. Bottom: A fisherman prepares for a day's work. "An atmosphere of intimidation"/POP photos



their fishing. "Suddenly," as he relates it, "the Israeli marine patrol boat approached our boat very fast and almost side-swiped it, pushing waves of water into the boat, and thus endangering our lives." He added that while they were standing in their water-filled boat, "the guards asked for our IDs and pretended we were fishing in a banned area. Then they returned our IDs. We were not fishing in a banned area. What the marine patrol 'guards' did was to merely harass us, a practice of the Israelis for the last ten years."

Physical Deterioration in Housing and Schools

The Palestinian community of 13,000 in Acre sees these harassments as only part of a series of measures which the Israelis began long ago to encourage the Palestinian residents of Acre into leaving. Most of the Palestinian community lives in the old city of Acre in old and dilapidated houses (about housing conditions in Acre, see *Al Fajr* issue No 96). Since 1965, several houses have collapsed on top of their inhabitants. The Palestinians of Acre have been demanding for the past 20 years that

the Israeli authorities build a new Arab neighbourhood in the town, but there has been no response.

Schools in the town are facing a total neglect by the Israeli authorities; some are no longer fit for study. In a meeting held by the student's parents committee on June 11, the principal of one of the town's three elementary schools described his school buildings as "a stable." According to Ramzi Khouri, one of three Palestinians in the Acre municipality, it was the first time that a school principal dared to give such harsh criticism about the situation of the schools and about the Israeli education ministry, "which has been promising to improve the conditions of the school for the last fifteen years."

The report which the principal presented to parents, noted that the 230-year-old school has had no structural improvements made to it. It consists of only 13 rooms for 440 pupils. The largest room is less than 40 square metres. The rooms are so dark that lighting is needed even during the day. The school has no basic facilities - no playground and no heating.

Mustafa Hammada, the head of the parents committee, told parents in the meeting that "we have made contacts

and sent letters to the people in charge in the municipality and in the education ministry. All we have collected is promises." He has become convinced that neither the municipality nor the education ministry is interested in improving the conditions of the schools or building new ones.

Another elementary school on the coast, in the western part of the town, is facing demolition by the Acre municipality; a tourist hotel is planned on the site. "When we learnt about this plan," said Mahmoud Abu Shanab, "we hurried to the municipal council for information." He added that the mayor, from the Labour Party, did not deny the plan outright, but claimed that a new school would be built elsewhere. Abu Shanab explained that the Israeli authorities continue to use new levers to dislodge the Arabs from Acre and transform the town into a purely Jewish town: "The new campaign of harassment, the plan to destroy the elementary school, in addition to the terrible neglect of the Arab neighbourhoods of the town all fall within one objective - to 'clean' Acre of Arabs." He ended by saying that the Palestinians of Acre will not leave their town at any price. "It is their town, their homeland."

Forgive me if I interrupt you but is this phrase known to you: "The Arab minority constitutes a danger to the state, in peace time as well as in wartime?" Do you know who said this about Palestinian Arabs: "A part of them will die, most of them will turn to human dust and social waste?" Or, perhaps, "There are too many Arabs in the country?" Or, "Instead of integration of the Arabs in the state's life... It is better to have separate development?"

Do you think this is a collection from the speeches of General Raphael Eitan made recently in high schools? Or the living-godly words of Rabbi Moshe ("Don't touch my messiahs") Levinger? Excuse me for disturbing you, but these words were said by the people who erected the state of Israel about 35 years ago. Among them were the elder sons of MAPAI, which calls itself today 'the sane Zionism' (maybe because it has already managed to go mad and is not prepared to let others become so).

The first quotation, 'danger for the state,' indeed derives from the mouth of a reserve general. His name is Yigal'el Yadin. This quotation I found in a book written by Tom Segev: 1949 — The First Israelis. This is a book that in normal circumstances might be considered annoying because it is mainly a collection of quotations with pleasant connecting pieces and very little analysis. However, the circumstances are not normal and the collection of quotations excites to the point of pain.

I told Tom Segev that if I had written the book, I would have added an exclamation point to every word. I told him, when he celebrated the book's publication with a big marzipan cake, that I am jealous of him for his ability to record the most horrible things in a most banal tone, as kind of incidental.

OK. If these quotations come from the first Israelis, I want to go home. Or what is even worse, if these were the first Israelis, I don't know where I want to go. Because it is very possible that there are no more pleasant memories to escape to. And this is the situation. There was a myth, and now look — it has disappeared.

Never, not even once, was there a generation whose sons believed that at its head stood giants and pioneers, the loyal, the good and the pure. Even in that generation they thought about the previous one. There was no historical value put on heritage. It was impossible to relate an archaeological truth to them. However, they nourished a need bigger than archaeological truth: they nourished a mental need.

In my environment I know people who consider the present current of affairs to be a big breakdown. And they call this breakdown, more or less, a 'deviation' and say it is possible to come back to the original way, if we only want to. This reminds me of what Ben-Yehuda [revitaliser of the Hebrew language — tr] wrote in his first or second article, 105 years ago: "We have a language in which we shall be able to speak, if only we want to."

Then against Ben Yehuda, a well-known intellectual historian stood up and said: "The Hebrew language is like porcelain that fell and broke. And a broken shard is forever irreparable." Ben Yehuda himself was finally compelled to admit that his counterpart was not so far from the truth. It was impossible to return and start to speak Hebrew like that, according to a decision, overnight.

The same is true about the 'deviation' — "Let's return to sane and progressive Zionism." These were, and still are, necessary words. Without the presumption that there is a Zionist alternative to the currently prevailing Zionism, people would find themselves in trouble, and maybe doubt the fundamentals.

Israel is a state built on myths, writes Israeli journalist Yoav Karni, that serve educational aims — like purity of arms, security necessities, humane Zionism. To pull one down destroys the delicate framework which protects Israelis from moral introspection and guilt about the past.

When Your Myths Are Collapsing, Don't Rejoice

The presumption that there is a Zionist alternative is based on memories and sweet nostalgia, like Central-Jordan-Valley-Songs and legends: 'There Was a Palmahnik Named Dudu,' or 'For Me Every Wave Bears a Memory,' or 'In Galilee In Tel-Hai Trumpet'd Fell,' or 'Not a Legend, Friend, Nor a Passing Dream.'

And you stand and nourish yourself with memories and melodies until you don't care anymore to examine their authenticity. And you hear General Eitan or you hear one Zvi Shilo'a, a Tehiya member of Knesset, who preaches for "a big land for a big people" and says that he himself is the true descendant of Ben Gurion. And then you (or me, what does it matter?) go to Tom Segev, a man who thinks like you (or like myself), more or less, and ask him: "Maybe, nevertheless, Zvi Shilo'a is right? Maybe he is the true descendant of Ben Gurion?" And Tom Segev replies, as usual, without exclamation marks: "Yes, he is right."

And now there comes the question after which there might be the break: "Do we have anything to go back to? Have we anyone to go back to? Was there ever a Zionism here different from that which is here nowadays?"

May 24 1948 Ben Gurion writes in his diary: "I proposed to the government to attack the (Jordanian) Legion fortified in Latroun, and to advance to the mouth of the Jordan River in the Dead Sea, then south to Ramallah and to conquer all Jerusalem and the southern pocket that surrounds Bethlehem and Hebron, where there were about 100,000 Arabs ... I presumed that the majority of the Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron Arabs would flee like the Arabs of Lydda, Jaffa, Haifa, Tiberias and Safad did; and we shall dominate the whole width of the country till the Jordan River, north and south, to Jericho and all the western Dead Sea will be in our hands."

June 27 1948 Agriculture Minister Aharon Zisling, in the provisional government meeting about the Israeli troops' behaviour towards the Arab civilian population: "...I couldn't sleep all night. I felt that something had been done that hurts my soul, my spirit of home, all our spirit here. I couldn't imagine where we are coming from and where we are going ... Not always did I agree when the English were labelled 'Nazis.' They did do some Nazi deeds. However, also the Jews did Nazi deeds, and all my constitution is shocked by this thing ... We must pretend for outside, and I agree that we should not disclose that we are investigating such deeds. However, the deeds should be investigated."

1949: the Middle East Department in the Foreign Office on the refugee situation: "The most practical and adjustable will get along according to natural selection and the rest will break to dust. A part of them will die and the majority will turn to human dust and social waste and will join the poorest classes in the Arab countries."

Yosef Weitz participated in the opening ceremony of the First Knesset. In his diary he writes about the swearing-



Ben Gurion

"The myth of the 'pure gun' will stand up only if accompanied by the myth of 'it is good to die.' And these will stand up only if there continues to exist other myths to exempt us from guilt and, specifically, hard moral introspection."

in ceremony of the Arab Knesset members: "I felt cold in my heart and anger in my soul ... I wouldn't like them to be many. Maybe they will integrate into the life of the state, but still generations will pass before they will be loyal to it."

MK Eliyahu Karmeli: "...I am not prepared to accept even one Arab and not only no Arabs but also no gays. I want the state of Israel to be all Jewish: sons of Avraham, Isaac and Ya'acov ..."

Ze'ev On (later an MK): "...I really enjoy it journeying from Tel Aviv to Haifa when I don't find an Arab on the way." In an interview with Josh Palmon, Arab affairs advisor to Ben Gurion and later Arab affairs advisor to Teddy Kollek: "I was against the integration of Arabs into the life of the

state ... in contradiction with some nice souls in the Histadrut and in MAPAI. This country is built like a mosaic, community by community, every community a stone in the mosaic and its boundaries fixed ... It's better to have separate development."

If you say that there was an anti-Arab atmosphere in MAPAI, you are right. Josh Palmon explicitly says: "We failed." He means by that, we failed that not all the Arabs left. They all thought it would be better if there were no Arabs. Look at Sharet's cable to Nahum Goldmann in which he says what a wonderful thing has happened to us, that the Arabs left: "In a certain sense, even more wonderful than the establishment of the state of Israel."

On the other hand, you have a dispute in the Knesset. All the speakers consider it necessary to preface their speeches with, "We, indeed, didn't expel them, they left of their own free will." Good, you may say that this was a public matter. However, in the MAPAI Secretariat it was a closed dispute, and even here they say, "The Arabs are responsible for their fate, not us." Here people are constructing an image of their own making and living by it. However, they also say the truth: "It's wonderful without Arabs."

And then, when Zvi Shilo'a says that the transfer of Arabs from the country is indeed adherence to Ben Gurion's doctrine, it is perhaps possible to say that he was right. Yes, I got the impression that these people are sorry that the work had not been completed. So many have already gone, then why should so many stay? If you want to go one step further, imagine to yourself that no Arabs remain. All the Arabs were expelled, gone. There is no one. Imagine to yourself Israel nowadays. So far I have not played this game. Many things would be simpler.

If there had not remained any Arabs, there would not have developed a tradition of military governorate. Maybe there would not have developed mutual hatred for Jews and for Arabs. The fear of the Arabs which nourishes a national or nationalist tendency would

not have been created.

On the other hand, the fact that the Arabs remained in the country nourished a whole generation of tolerance in education, of acquaintance with foreigners, of developing the sensation that the state belongs to the region... Now, if we see what Josh Palmon says, if he says 'separate development,' mosaic stones, this is exactly the same terminology used in South Africa. When you translate the words 'separate development' into the Afrikaans language, you get 'apartheid.'

Forget the words. Words are not important. The matter is grave not because of the word association. It is grave because the man who said the words was in charge of policy that included the military governorate for the Arabs of Israel. The military governorate sanctioned severe infringements of human and civil rights. I, however, was shocked much more when I read in Teddy Kollek's memoirs that the military governorate was not established for security needs but to ensure that the Israeli Arabs vote for MAPAI. This was said by Ben Gurion's right-hand man. Here you have a myth, claimed for all those years, that the governorate was necessary for security. So we learned as we got older that the governorate was intended to safeguard MAPAI domination. This seems to me much more shocking. Then what were the reasons



Teddy Kollek

"We, indeed, didn't expel them (the Arabs), they left of their own free will." — Members of Knesset

of security? What was the security risk that the few Arabs of Israel, defeated and humiliated, uneducated and without leadership, would create?

What is the disaster, then? Truth, or non-truth, what is so horrible about a harmless myth? Tom Segev's reply is

exact: "The myths we hold serve an educational aim: And in many cases also a political, chauvinist tendency. It is hard for me to imagine a myth that serves another goal."

The tragedy of parting from the myths is that it is impossible to be selective about them. The battle against harmful myths necessarily must also destroy the harmless ones. After all, it is possible that a myth serves to advance an issue. "The purity of arms" is indeed a well-worn myth, further compounded by much rebuttal. Without mentioning at all the fact that a weapon is not pure, it should be said that this could be an effective myth, if it were kept.

Soldiers who go to war or soldiers who conquer a country will behave in a different manner if they know that there is no need to kill by war or infringe human rights. However, the myth of the 'pure gun' will stand up only if accompanied by the myth of 'it is good to die.' And these will stand up only if there continues to exist other myths to exempt us from guilt and, specifically, hard moral introspection.

And therefore, perhaps, not one myth will remain. Beware, people, we have never tried to live in a country myth-free. It might be even more difficult and bring on more harm than a country that is made myth by myth. (Translation: Koterit Rashit, May 18, 1984)

continued from page 6

Fascism



Arens: "We will leave Lebanon only with security arrangements." Sharon says: "We destroyed their infrastructure."

Change on the Political Map

The Jewish terror network affair was another test of power among the various tendencies. The arrest of its members turned from a victorious blow to fascism into a springboard from which it manages an aggressive propaganda campaign and gains special treatment from the police, the court, the government and an unhidden sympathy from the evening newspapers and the street.

The ideological struggle of fascism is accompanied by a struggle to change the Israeli Party-political map. An important section of fascism headed by Ariel Sharon tries to overwhelm the Likud from inside. Begin's departure paved the road, along with the fact that Ezer Weizmann, Berman and Savidov remained outside. Sharon's win of 40 percent of the Likud votes in internal elections, placing him third on their list, is not the end. He is trying now to move Levi, Arens and Shamir aside and to push for a certain atmosphere to prevail that will allow actions like the lynching of Arabs in daylight. Outside the Likud are Raphael Eitan and [Science Minister] Yuval Ne'eman, who moved aside Gula Cohen and overtook Tehiya. They have the support of the career officers — the extent of support is unknown — and the

armed squads of settlers are behind them. Fascist sections of the Orthodox and religious Jewry within 'Matzad' and 'Orot' also act on their side and attempt to dislodge the traditional leadership of [Education Minister] Hammer and [Interior Minister] Burg. All these are not enough. The fact that unbiased arbitrator Me'ir Zore'a [head of the commando murder investigation], from kibbutz Ma'agan Mikhael, joined Tehiya indicates the processes that are taking place in the Labour movement's kibbutzim. Fascism gains support not only in the Golan Heights kibbutzim and the moshavim movement that raised Sharon and Eitan but also within the Labour Party itself.

Rabin's closeness to Sharon is not a secret. His only response to the POWs' murder was to criticise the press' role in the affair. Also, MAPAM's Imri Ron's sympathy is well-known. The composition of the 'conducting quartet' of the Alignment — two former chiefs of staff and one defense minister — and the moving of Even Har'el and other doves to the side, indicates the direction in which the Labour Party is moving.

A Turning Point

There is no real opposition to

fascism today in Israel and the coming to power of the Alignment will not stop the tendency. This is taking place less than two years after the 400,000 demonstrators in September 1982, considered by the whole world a historical event that proved the revolt of Israeli society against the war in Lebanon and the honest wish of the Israelis for peace.

In retrospect, this demonstration is illustrative of a road sign in the struggle between the Right and the traditional Zionist leadership, a struggle in which the Right is victorious and has paved the way for the rise of fascism. The real question obvious in that demonstration was whether the Likud government would fall. To that purpose, one out of every ten citizens went to the street. This was the greatest demonstration of power that the Labour movement had. The demonstration indeed succeeded in establishing the Kahan Committee — but not to make the Likud government fall. Begin remained in power, Eitan remain in his job as chief of staff and Sharon remained a government minister, even after the committee's conclusions were published.

Half a year later, a hand grenade was thrown at a Peace Now demonstration. Emil Greenzweig's murder and the shock that moved the peace movement following that were among the decisive factors that sent the movement members back to their homes. Before the organised and armed power of the Gush Emunim people, the peace movement had no answer.

A look at the words of Avruschmi, who is accused of throwing the grenade that killed Emil Greenzweig, shows a surprising similarity with the words of the Jewish terror organisation in the West Bank. No organisational ties between them are known, but the ideological ties are beyond doubt.

The Struggle Splits

In retrospect, that grenade expresses the changed power relations and hints of the future prepared for us by Sharon, Eitan and their fellows, when they will be in power without fetters of press, opposition and international laws.

Whoever has digested the barbarism of the war in Lebanon, the pounding



David Levi

of Ain al-Hilweh into dust, the barbaric three-month siege of Beirut and Sabra and Shatila and who today raise Eitan and Sharon as their leaders are a public that is prepared to do everything.

In the war of Lebanon, Israel stretched its humane and moral resources to their very end in order to annihilate the Palestinian problem, once and forever, by military means. And they have not succeeded, not even a little, because of the internal debate that started in Israel and in its army. In this debate the resignation of Eli Geva' and the erection of Yesh Gvul became symbols. The Israeli bourgeoisie has not admitted its tendencies. However, with the army of today, with a public debate and an opposition, it will be very difficult to reach Damascus and to expel the West Bank Arabs. Therefore, parts of the Israeli bourgeoisie are gradually increasing with fascism.

An opposition to fascism that continues to consider the Arabs as a main enemy and the 'good boys' as a secondary enemy, that refuses to consider the Palestinians living in Israel as an ally in the struggle against it and refuses the PLO as a partner for peace will not stop fascism. It will bend in front of it. (Translation: Derech H-Nitzotz, June 1984)

The Muslim month of fast, *Ramadan*, affects routine life in Palestine much as it does in the rest of the Arab world. The day-long fast and night activities bring a festive mood throughout the local community, as Said al-Ghazali reports.

The Holy Month of Ramadan



Damascus Gate following noon prayers on Friday, June 15/AO photo

Hundreds of Palestinian children, men and women gather before Damascus Gate every evening of *Ramadan*, the Muslim month of fasting, to play with sparklers and firecrackers celebrating the end of another day of fasting. Sweet sellers and vendors move from one spot to another in the square. Boys divide themselves into groups and begin throwing their sparklers in a war-like style. This popular, spontaneous celebration continues nightly until the end of *Ramadan*. Other children, mostly boys, celebrate differently. They gather around doorsteps of houses and sing traditional songs to praise the owner of the house and his youngest son. The house owner then distributes money among the boys, who move from house to house until midnight.

Muslim Holy Month

During the month of *Ramadan*, Muslims are forbidden to eat, drink, smoke, or have sexual intercourse from sunrise to sunset. Fasting grew from a voluntary endeavour 1400 years ago to become one of the five pillars of Islam. In Islam, fasting is important for soul purification and as a means of approaching God.

Evening Breakfast

During the long daylight hours of June, Muslims wait patiently for the

Maghrab call to prayer to mark the end of the fasting. When they hear the call of prayer from minarets of mosques, they may eat some dates and drink some water before leaving quickly for the mosque to attend prayer. Before eating or drinking, the fasting person says: "O God, for you I fast, from your subsistence I eat. The thirst has gone, my veins have been satisfied and the reward is given as God wills." For those who want to imitate the Prophet Mohammed's actions, it is preferable to perform prayers in the mosque and then to go back home to finish the breakfast meal.

Pre-Dawn Meal Sihour

After *Maghrab* prayer, devout Muslims gather in mosques or houses to read the *Quran* and chant religious songs. They perform *Asha* prayer, one of the five daily prayers, and *Tarawih*, a long prayer that Muslims perform during *Ramadan*. After finishing prayers, they discuss topics referring to Islamic history and religion.

At 1:00 am, the caller of prayer in the mosque begins reading some religious songs and some parts of the *Quran*. Drummers, called *Musherati* in Arabic, walk through the streets and quarters singing beautifully and calling people to wake up and take their *Sihour* meal.

At a typical Palestinian house, the mother is the first to wake up, prepare light food and soft drinks and then



Large crowds of worshippers gather to pray at al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock during Ramadan/AO photo

wake other members of the family. People eat, drink and listen to religious programmes on radio until they hear the call to fast either from the radio or mosques. After some moments, the caller will recite the call for dawn prayer and Muslims have to go to mosques to perform prayers and then start their usual daily activities.

Activities in Ramadan

Waqf departments in the main West Bank towns string lights and other decorations in the main streets and a festive air is apparent. At night, shopkeepers reopen their shops and people stroll about or shop, in uncharacteristic nighttime activity.

Contrary to Islamic principles, some Muslim families consume great quantities of food, sweets and soft drinks and prepare many kinds of dishes for their first evening meal. Muslim sheikhs criticise this phenomenon. Sheikh Mohammed Hussein, 35, told *Al Fajr*: "Ramadan is not a month of eating and drinking. It is a month of worshipping and fasting." Sheikh Hussein mentioned many sayings of the Prophet Mohammed which urge Muslims not to eat excessively.

In *Ramadan*, *Atayef*, a walnut or cheese-filled pancake, is traditionally eaten after the evening meal. Rice and meat is the main dish during *Ramadan* and licorice, carob and date juices are essential accompaniments to the meals because of their thirst-quenching properties.

Why Do Muslims Fast?

Many Muslims do not like this question and say that fasting is a way of worshipping God only and that it is not done because of any benefits. Fasting during *Ramadan* was initiated in the seventh century (in the second year of Mohammed's emigration from Mecca to Medina). In the *Quran* it says: "Believers, fasting is decreed for you as it was decreed for those before you. Perchance you will guard yourselves against evil. Fast a certain number of days, but if any one of you is ill or on a journey, let him fast a similar number of days later on or feed a poor man. He that does

good of his own account shall be well rewarded but to fast is better for you, if you but knew it."

Muslims believe that *Ramadan* is a holy month, marking the time Mohammed started receiving *Quran* verses from God. *Lailat al-Qadr* is the night in which, according to *Sura* 97, the *Quran* was revealed. Muslims celebrate it during the night between the 26th and 27th day of *Ramadan*. Muslims believe that God will forgive all sins of those who celebrate it in mosques by performing prayers and faithfully worshipping God.

Last Ten Days of Ramadan

In mosque minarets, some Muslim groups recite sad, farewell songs towards the end of *Ramadan*. The more religious people prefer to stay in the mosque during the last ten days. They eat little, read the *Quran* and perform prayers.

Feast

At the sight of the new moon, the end of *Ramadan* is declared and people in many Arab cities gather in the streets to celebrate. On *Id al-Fitr*, each family prepares special kinds of sweets and buys large quantities of fruit and food. Walls are decorated. On the first day of the feast, food is prepared early in the morning and family members, traditionally males, leave their houses to visit their relatives and friends bearing gifts and money.

Each Muslim must offer money to the poor as well as a *Ramadan* donation.

Ramadan of Yesteryears

Haj Said Hassan al-Ghazali, 94, started to fast during *Ramadan* when he was 10 years old. He still fasts. Al-Ghazali said that people in the past read the *Quran* more and went to the mosque: "In the forties, visitors to al-Aqsa Mosque would see at least 60 to 70 sheikhs delivering lectures to people." He added: "In the past, all Muslims fasted but in these days, many people do not fast. People break *Ramadan* because of Israel."

Shimon Ballass :

An Israeli Views Palestinian Literature

Shimon Ballass is an Israeli professor of Arabic literature who specialises in Palestinian literature. He chairs the Arabic literature department at Haifa University. He is also a well-known Hebrew writer who has published several novels in addition to his academic research.

Born in Baghdad in 1930, Ballass made his way to Israel in 1951. While in Iraq, he practiced writing and published his works in the Iraqi Communist Party's newspapers *Al Asas* [The Foundation] and *Al Masr* [The Times]. He continued to write in Arabic while in Israel and published stories and articles in *Al Jadid* and *Al Ittihad*. In the mid-fifties, he began to write in Hebrew and worked as an editor of Arab affairs in *Kol Ha'am* from 1965 to 1961.

His first Hebrew novel, published in 1962, portrays the life of the Jews coming from Iraq in a camp for newcomers. He then published a collection called *In Front of the Wall* and a novel, *The Closed Room*. He has translated into Hebrew a collection of Palestinian stories by writers who lived before and after the 1948 disaster. His most important research was his study *Arabic Literature Under the War* — his doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne University in 1972 — later translated into Arabic and published.

In Palestinian literature we don't see any signs of racism. There is always realistic depiction of the Israeli personality. The new Palestinian literature is a human one.

His book, Ballass says, is divided into two parts. First is the Palestinian theme in Arabic literature in general (the story and the novel, but not poetry). "Through research I discovered that the conflict was not reflected in Arabic literature until 1967. Nor did I come across traces of this conflict in Palestinian literature, except rarely, until 1948. After this period, the theme relating to the Palestinian cause became essential and central in Palestinian literature, especially themes depicting the life of the refugees and the Palestinian minority which remained.

"The second part of the study deals with the war theme and how it is reflected in Arabic literature in general. Here also it became obvious that the Arab writer did not show serious interest in this theme. I have no explanation for this phenomenon. But I may say that the wars preceding the 1967 war did not inflict any damage on the Arab writer, whereas in the 1967 war the writer was as much inflicted as any other Palestinian.

"Another issue that became prominent between 1967-1973 is the reflection

on the individual and his relation to the existing regime in his country. Here, the Arab writer tried to adopt a stand towards the reactionary regime which tried to defeat the individual in his life before levelling him to defeat in the battlefield. The short story and the drama made their appearance. We have the writings of Najib Mahfouz in his symbolic and philosophical stories and the stories of Jamal al-Ghittani and Ibrahim Asslan. There are also the plays of Ali Salem and Alfred Faraj in Egypt, the play of Saad Allah Wanus (Entertainment Party) in Syria and the plays of Issam Mahfouz."

Q: How is the Israeli portrayed in the so-called Arab war literature, and particularly in the Palestinian literature?

A: The Israeli first appeared as a soldier in most of the Palestinian and Arabic works. For example, in Ghassan Kana'fani's play *Mutabaka Lakum* (What Remained for You), the confrontation is between a young refugee who has fled from Gaza on his way to Jordan and an Israeli soldier. This confrontation leads to catastrophe because there is no room for understanding between them. It is more on the symbolic level than it is realistic.

Q: This is perhaps the realistic consequence: military confrontation always leads to catastrophe?

A: The confrontation is between a fugitive and a soldier. The difficulty in understanding arises from the fact that both of them do not know the language of the other. The narrative ends with the refugee killing the soldier. This is what we understand from the story. But in his play *Return to Haifa*, the confrontation is on another level. The Israeli appears in his military uniform while the Palestinian appears as a refugee who has come to visit his home in Haifa after the war. The confrontation is both political and tragic because the Palestinian is the father of the soldier who has become an Israeli after his father left him as a small child. Here too the story ends with the absence of the possibility of understanding between both sides.

Q: Don't you believe that the absence of the possibility of understanding and the portrayal of the confrontation in this way arise from the Israeli rulers' policy which [Labour Party figure

by Salman Natour

Yitzhak] Rabin expressed in his words "No meeting with the Palestinians except on the battlefield"?

A: I think there are two ways to deal with such a conflict and this confrontation: a propagandist way or the portrayal of everyday life. Ghassan Kana'fani, for example, in his narrative *What Remained for You* dwells on the subject on the level of practical life and not on the propaganda level in *Return to Haifa*, though he tried to portray the Israeli from the human side, especially the mother who adopted the baby. His portrayal of this character was an attempt to understand the Israeli and Jew who was persecuted in Europe and came here seeking his own homeland.

It is difficult to ask the Palestinian writer living away from his home to portray the Israeli as a character with natural proportions. He has not come to know these Israelis in their day-to-day life. But the case is different with the Palestinian writers in Israel, whose portrayal of the character of the Israeli is different because of daily life and knowing the Israeli individual at close quarters. The first work that dealt with this character in its realistic dimensions is *Infiltrators* by Hanna Ibrahim. Such portrayal is also evident in the works of Emil Habibli, Salman Natour, Tawfiq Fyad, Mustafa Marar and Atallah Mansour.

But in the occupied territories, most writers portray the reality and persecution which they are suffering. Some writers try to portray the Israeli not only as soldier but also as human. And sometimes as a human who sympathises with the inhabitants of the occupied territories, as is evident in the stories of Jamal Banoura and the novel of Sahar Khalifa *Abad al-Shams* (The Sunflower), which portrays the Israeli who sides with the Palestinian in his struggle against occupation.

In this literature we detect no traces of racial hostility. Instead there is a realistic portrayal of the Israeli character, though we have other works characterised by propaganda, thus losing their literary value.

Q: Arabic literature has been called Israeli, not Palestinian, literature. This claim was heard among some academic circles concerned with our literature. As a researcher of this literature, do you think it is Israeli or Palestinian?

A: Palestinian literature is a two-pronged literature: the refugee side and the side of the national minority in Israel. The two sides branch out from one trunk: Palestinian existence. There are many characteristics that are in common with the literature of the Arab writers in Israel and that of their brethren outside.

The main characteristic in this literature is, in my opinion, the sense of

alienation. This is a prominent phenomenon in the literature of Palestinian writers abroad, like Ghassan Kana'fani, Rashad Abu Shawar, Yahia Yakhli' and Samira Azzum. In the literature of local writers, the alienation of the Arab character is prominent culturally, nationally and ideologically. This alienation appears in the relation between the Palestinian individual and the regime under which he lives, between him and his homeless people, the longing of the Palestinian in Israel for his people and the longing of the refugee for his land and home.

There are several common characteristics in the works of these writers. Therefore, Palestinian literature in Israel and Palestinian literature outside Israel form one unit as far as daily life is concerned. Of course, there is a difference in the subjects because daily life in each place has its own characteristics. To consider Arabic literature here as Israeli is like considering a Palestinian in Israel as Israeli, without making clear his Arab Palestinian identity.

Q: What is your opinion of Israeli Jewish literature written after the war of June 1982 and do you believe there is a change in the Israeli writer's attitude towards the Palestinian cause and the Arab person?

A: After the Lebanon war, sympathy with the Palestinian individual turned into opposition to the policy pursued by the Israeli government which leads to deepening the conflict with the Arab world and removing the possibility of achieving a just and lasting peace and solving the Palestinian problem peacefully. This attitude is evident in most of the Hebrew works published in the last two years, particularly in poetry. Poems protesting against and opposing the war are published in the newspapers and poetry collections.

Q: Despite the fact that an important part of Palestinian literature is written in this country, we notice that Israeli universities do not pay enough attention to this literature. How do you explain this?

A: The concern with contemporary literature is a relatively new phenomenon and there was even less concern about Palestinian literature. But in recent years, in Haifa and Tel-Aviv Universities, there are courses in Palestinian literature. I myself teach the Palestinian pre-1948 narrative at Haifa University and I was responsible for writing some studies on Ghassan Kana'fani at Haifa University.

I am now also studying two narratives dealing with the sale of Arab lands to Jews by Jamal al-Husseini. It appears that these narratives were lost since they were published in the early thirties. (Translation: Al Jadid, May 1984)



WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



Palestinian papers in the occupied territories gave prominence during the week to optimistic leaks coming out of the Aden meetings between the various PLO factions. The visit of PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir Arafat to Italy and the high level meetings he had with Italian officials was reported in *Al Fajr* and *Al Sha'ab*. Names and photos of the accused in the Jewish terror underground received front-page coverage in all papers.

The International Conference

The UN Secretary-General's visit to this area, with a specified aim to search through the possibilities of convening an international conference regarding the Middle East conflict, indicates the failure of the Camp David line and of Reagan in finding a solution. It is also an international recognition that the attempt to cancel the international conference by ignoring, liquidating or distancing the concerned parties in order to maintain Israel, the US and the chosen Arab victim, also failed.

Events have proven the impossibility of pushing away the concerned parties in the Middle East cause, specifically the Soviet Union and the PLO. Neither the invasion of Lebanon and the PLO's departure from Beirut cancelled the PLO's and the Palestinian people's reality as a main party in the conflict, nor did the attempts to distance the Soviet Union as a main party concerned in solving the conflict in the area succeed.

Also the rejection of the international conference by the two states which are trying to maintain the current situation and the occupation and deprive the Palestinian people from setting up its independent state prove the usefulness of such a conference in serving the cause of just peace and the regaining of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Thus the Arab parties, especially Jordan, should have supported the international conference and should not have given de Cuellar indications to the Israeli government of their readiness to negotiate outside the international conference platform and according to special conditions. The events and Sadat's negotiations have shown that any bilateral or trilateral negotiations would not benefit any side other than Israel and the US, and the Arab party is always the loser. This is why, whatever the conditions were which made the Jordanian rulers think they can start negotiations outside the international conference platform, the result will be, in the end, the neglect of the

conditions, as was the case with Sadat.

However, the Israeli premier wanted to reassert Israel's policy on the day de Cuellar arrived by participating in the establishment of a new settlement, the opening of a factory in another settlement and by giving a speech in which he stated that there will be no "concession" regarding the West Bank and Gaza.

This is a straight-forward answer for those who dream and for those who give concessions even before being asked to do so.

Consequently the international conference must be insisted on. People should continue to work for the international conference and should reject any suspicious offer even if it was given by the UN Secretary-General.

AL TALIA
June 14

The Aden Meeting

The statement made by 'Abu Jihad,' deputy commander of the Palestinian revolution forces and member of Fatah Central Committee, on the adjournment of the meetings of the third stage of the Palestinian dialogue in Aden, was a source of hope and a good omen.

That adjournment — according to Abu Jihad — aimed at giving the Palestinian delegates the opportunity to consult with their leadership in preparation for drawing the final touches of the joint communiqué to be issued in Aden.

When one contemplates the statement of Abu Jihad, one cannot but feel optimistic that the expected final declaration will be an embodiment of the national unity of all the Palestinian groups which cannot do without such a unity especially under the present fateful conditions of the Palestinian cause.

When we emphasise the necessity of harmony and agreement among members of the same cause, away from division and fighting, it is because we do not and will not forget the tragedies that befell our people for decades as a result of those differences stemming from the

catastrophes of 1948... and other catastrophes thereafter.

There is one more important thing that should be remembered by the participants in Aden's meetings: the independence of the Palestinian decision will remain, at all times and places, a national demand that should not be abandoned under any circumstances. We have suffered a lot — on many occasions — through the years because of the abandonment of the independent Palestinian decision.

AL FAJR
June 15

Why the Adjournment?

The decision of the participants in Aden's meetings to suspend their meetings temporarily was unexpected. The very reasons given for the suspension were enough to motivate the participants to continue the debate until they reach an agreement on a common formula.

The participants justified the adjournment of their meetings by pointing to the importance of the issues under discussion. This is a diplomatic term which means that the participants are not given enough powers to decide on those crucial issues and that the leadership only is able to decide on them and give the final opinion.

The fact that these Palestinian groups held meetings is evidence that their differences are not so great. Since these groups have chosen the way of dialogue and debate, they will inevitably reach an agreement on a unified stand that would serve as a solid grounding for a Palestinian independent and comprehensive strategy.

All indications are that the participants in Aden's meetings have made considerable progress towards a compromise and meeting half-way. Fatah, for instance, agreed to introduce a basic reform in all the organisation's institutions. This demand is a central one in the working paper submitted by the Palestinian quadruple alliance.

The most important thing is that the adjournment should not last for long. The five-day adjournment should not become an indefinite adjournment lasting

for weeks or months. The participants should continue until it is completed.

AL QUDS
June 15

National Interest

For about two weeks, the Palestinian people's attention as well as that of its allies, both in the Arab world and elsewhere, was drawn toward the capital of Popular Democratic Yemen, in anticipation of the outcome of the National Palestinian dialogue between the quadruple alliance and the delegation of the Fatah Central Committee, until the adjournment of the meetings for five days.

Despite the reported progress during the dialogue regarding the points of difference with the aim of reunifying the Palestinians and solving the crisis resulting from the approach and practices of the Palestinian rightists — despite all this, this rightist trend is to blame for the failure of reaching a comprehensive agreement on the political and organisational matters discussed at the meetings.

The reason underlying our blaming the Palestinian right stems from the fact that the working paper submitted by the quadruple alliance on the political and organisational levels is crystal clear and needs no further dialogue or argument. It has to be quickly endorsed so as to maintain the PLO unity and its national trend together with its Arab and international alliances.

The alliance's demand to condemn Arafat publicly for visiting the Egyptian regime, and no longer to consider him a common denominator among the various Palestinian groups, has become an essential issue that needs no procrastination. The demand is based on the National Covenant and on the Palestinian National Council resolutions which Arafat has violated and therefore is liable to account for.

Wasting time in trying to leap over the clear facts, will harm the cause and the march which must proceed on national basis and in accordance with Aden's communiqué which commands the support of our

people and all its allies. It places the national interest above all else. Let us place the national interest above the personal considerations.

AL MITHAQ
June 16

A Truce or a Pause?

The actual truce prevailing between Iraq and Iran regarding the shelling of civilian targets provides an opportunity that was never available before to stop the war altogether after it has been raging since the summer of 1980.

Despite some violations of the truce and despite the repeated reports and statements about expected attacks, the atmosphere is apparently different from what it had been before. It seems as if these were a growing trend in Iran that started to realise the futility of continuing to refuse any peace initiatives to end this war that has inflicted the heaviest losses and damages on the interests and achievements of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples.

The seizing of this opportunity to perpetuate the ceasefire and to expand its scope and content is an urgent necessity that will contribute to the annulment of the imperialist schemes aiming at prolonging the war so as to infiltrate, under cover of its smoke, into the Gulf area to tighten their control over the states and peoples of the area.

We believe that the reconciliation committee emanating from the Islamic Conference, together with the movement of the non-aligned countries, are to accelerate their efforts in this field. The PLO submitted an initiative that includes a priority project to end the Gulf war. This initiative is gaining the support of many countries from day to day. Therefore, it is extremely important for the reconciliation committees to convene as soon as possible so as to seize the opportunity and perpetuate the trend towards stopping the fighting so that the present truce may not turn into a mere pause by the fighters.

AL SHA'AB
June 18

LSM Queries Israeli Medical Association On Role of MDs in Alleged Prison Torture

"On June 7, 1984 the Israeli Medical Association (IMA) released a press communique accusing Law in the Service of Man (LSM) of making malicious and libellous accusations against members of the Israeli medical profession. The communique was issued in response to a private letter sent by LSM to the President of the IMA on May 2, 1984.

"In that letter, LSM informed the IMA of its receipt of several disturbing allegations that Israeli individuals representing themselves as physicians have participated in prisoners' interrogation in West Bank military prisons. LSM went on to express its concern that if such allegations were in fact true, a serious breach of medical ethics by members of the IMA was being allowed to occur.

"The issue of physicians' complicity with methods of in-

terrogation illegal under international law has arisen on numerous occasions in various parts of the world. It is partly in reaction to such allegations that the 1975 Tokyo Declaration of the World Medical Association, referred to in LSM's letter, was issued.

"In other countries, medical associations have responded to the raising of similar issues in a cooperative and concerned manner. LSM had hoped that the IMA would respond to LSM's private communication in a manner more consistent with its proclaimed principles and offer its cooperation in determining the truth and, if necessary, act to prevent such occurrences. LSM received no direct communication of any sort from the IMA. Only through the press did LSM learn of the IMA's public communique. LSM considers this communique to be libellous of its organization and of its director, Raja Shehadeh, and highly

misrepresentative of the content of its letter to the IMA.

"While LSM sought to pursue a path of quiet consultation and cooperation in a matter of supposed common interest to our two organizations, it is now compelled to release publicly the full text of its letter to the IMA and to demand a public apology from them. If such an apology is not promptly forthcoming, LSM will initiate legal proceedings.

"Contrary to what the IMA alleges in its press communique, LSM does possess *prima facie* evidence of the participation of individuals representing themselves as physicians in prisoners' interrogation.

"LSM will publicly release the evidence in its possession if, upon completion of its investigation into such practices, the allegations are conclusively confirmed." (Translation: Al Fajr, June 16, 1984)

Symposium Discusses Jordan Valley Development

Fifty researchers, academicians and residents of the West Bank attended a one-day conference May 25 entitled "Development and Challenges in the Occupied Territories," held at the Beit Hanina Professional Societies Union in Jerusalem.

The conference, which was sponsored by the Arab Thought Forum, focused in particular on the situation in the Jordan Valley. Three lectures were delivered, followed by group discussion.

The head of the West Bank Engineers' Union and director of the Arab Thought Forum spoke on the problem of dependency and the need to develop an independent infrastructure: "We need to develop indigenous capabilities and resources in economic, social, cultural and educational aspects within the national Palestinian aims."

Agriculture engineer Omar Daoudi provided numerically researched data concerning life in the Jordan Valley. Daoudi provided statistics on population trends and on farming lands available for use to Palestinian farmers. He spoke about restrictions on water resources, dependency on Israeli sources and the various

marketing problems facing Jordan Valley farmers. Researcher Daoudi Istanboli, member of the Thought Forum's board of trustees, spoke about the need for restructuring patterns of production and consumption in the occupied territories.

The participants in the audience joined the discussion on the various aspects of development in the Jordan Valley after the lectures were delivered. Academicians expressed the need to study various geographic localities in order to learn about their problems and provide attainable solutions. Conference participants talked about the need to raise the standard and quality of produce and the necessity to develop packing and marketing techniques for locally grown products. Participants also spoke of the need to expand local markets and to attempt to obtain preferential treatment in Arab countries. Discussion ensued on the need to develop basic humanitarian services of sanitation and health services.

No resolutions or recommendations were taken but participants pointed out the need for more scientific research and discussion.



Issue No 45 of *Al Fajr al-Adabi*, a monthly cultural magazine, contains works by Palestinian researchers Adel Mena'a, Costandi Shumali, Abdel Min'em Hafez Rajabi and other important articles on literature, Palestinian bibliography, heritage and folklores. Two poems and eight short stories were published in the June issue of the magazine.

Erratum

In the June 15 edition of *Al Fajr*, in the opinion entitled "A Case of Mistaken Identity," by Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, the second paragraph should have read:

"The Jewish nation has

always been defined throughout the ages as a religious entity based on faith in G-d and His teachings, the Torah. The Zionist movement has redefined the term to that of a nationalistic concept based on land and language even though devoid of divinity."

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Canada Camp Students in Gaza

Locked gates in a barbed wire fence opened June 17 to allow 100 teenagers from Canada camp to take their final high school exams in Gaza. The camp was cut in two by the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty borders in 1982. The barbed wire runs along both sides of the border separating Egypt and the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip. The students — 55 girls and 40 boys — must cross a 20-yard-wide no-man's land to school buses waiting for them on the Gaza side. The examination for the Egyptian secondary school certificate lasts 10 days, with exams in different subjects on each day.

The students will board the buses every day at the frontier, travel 40 kilometres to a school in Gaza town and return across the border later the same day.

In closing the border the Palestine refugees in Canada camp were separated from the 44,000-strong Palestinian community of Rafah in the Gaza Strip. They have now been isolated for two years, with husbands and wives and children separated by the barbed wire of the frontier. Those with permits can cross the border to visit close family members; others cannot. Relatives shout messages

and greetings to each other every day across the no-man's land.

Fifty permanent UNRWA staff members (themselves Palestinian refugees) live in the camp, including two school supervisors, four head teachers and 31 other teachers. They established a school which runs in three shifts with over 1200 students.

Last year 50 Canada camp students (and 62 in 1982) were able to take their examination in Gaza. Without the secondary school certificate students cannot continue their education or compete for the few jobs that are available.

Rabin Attacks Press Role in Hijack Operation

The candidate for the post of defence minister in the Alignment government, Yitzhak Rabin, harshly criticised May 2 the security forces which allowed Israel and foreign media to freely cover the military operation of overtaking saboteurs who held the hijacked bus near Deir al-Balah.

MK Rabin, speaking in a question and answer session in Beer Saba, said: "A military operation is not a performance

but an action of life and death in which fates of people are decided. It should be clear that journalists will not intermingle with soldiers in the course of an operation. Since when is it permitted to allow all television crews to film and be involved in an Israeli army operation? It is a pity that it happened and ever since it happened, there has been no alternative but to publish the suspicions about the killing of the saboteurs at the end of the operation."

MK Rabin estimates that

within half a year it is possible for Israeli forces to return from Lebanon, while establishing security arrangements based on three components: the establishment of a strong local force in the form of SLA, mainly in the southern region; the placing of UNIFIL forces in the territories from which the Israeli army will withdraw, mainly in the northern region; and the granting of support and aid to the SLA by the Israeli army, without which it cannot exist. (Translation: Davar, June 3, 1984)

June 23, 24

Ras Roos, a one-man play depicting an ex-garbage collector who goes into retreat where he recreates his past and a possible perfect future, 8:30 pm (Arabic).

June 27

Film Night — *Bread and Chocolate*, 7:00 pm.

June 28-30

The Silverstones rock concert, 8:30 pm (English, Arabic).

the slogan "Democracy Calls You" to protest the cancellation of the list by the Central Elections Board. Transportation from West Jerusalem: Binyanei Ha'uma at 1:30; from Tel Aviv, Heikhal Hatarbut at 2:30 (Arabic, Hebrew).

All at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, Jerusalem, Tel: 288189.

June 22

Al Jazireh, a play written by South African playwright Arthur Fugard, 8:30 pm (Arabic).

June 23

NAZARETH — Popular rally at Cinema Nazareth, 4:30 pm, sponsored by the Arab-Jewish Progressive List for Peace under



WEEKLY REVIEW

June 13, 1984

RAMALLAH AND AL-BIREH MERCHANTS PROTEST HEAVY TAXES

RAMALLAH — Some Ramallah and al-Bireh merchants submitted a petition to the Chamber of Commerce urging them to intervene with the authorities concerning heavy taxes and arbitrary assessments. They singled out the monthly advances in Jordanian dinars as something which the merchants cannot afford. The head of the Chamber of Commerce, Ibrahim al-Far, promised to discuss the matter with the concerned authorities.

TEN YOUTHS SENTENCED TO JAIL

RAMALLAH — Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced eight youths to three-and-a-half years actual imprisonment and three years suspended. A ninth was sentenced to two years, and two years suspended. The tenth was sentenced to one year, and one year suspended.

MARKETING WEST BANK PRODUCE

JERICHO — Agricultural committees have been formed in Jericho district to help district farmers obtain licences to cultivate tomatoes and eggplants and to market farm produce.

BAIL FOR ACCUSED MURDERER

Linhah Mihalay, one of the accused in the shooting death of 9-year-old Aishah Bahash, from Nablus, was released on bail this week in Jerusalem.

6 MONTHS FOR JEEP FIRE

The district court in Haifa has sentenced Ziad Awad to six months in jail for burning a jeep on Land Day in the village of Sakhnin.

June 14, 1984

TEENAGERS SENTENCED

Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Dab Manasrah, 14, to nine months in prison and 15 months suspended and Sufian al-Mughrabi, 17, to four-and-a-half months in prison. Both youths are from Kalandia refugee camp.

Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced unionist Adnan Natshe, from Jerusalem, to five

months in prison and 15 months suspended on a charge of organising union work.

'BILAL QUARTER' RESIDENTS IN JERUSALEM THREATENED WITH EVICTION

Israeli police ordered residents of 'Bilal Quarter,' in Shayyah area on the southern slope of the Mount of Olives, to leave their homes by July 2. The order affects 13 Arab families whose members (140 people) protested against the decision and appealed to all the national organisations and institutions to join them in thwarting this attempt to throw them out of their homes.

Residents contend that the West Jerusalem municipality intends to use the land to expand the nearby Jewish cemetery. They also pointed out that Israeli attempts to grab the area started in 1975 when an Israeli company claimed to own the area since 1928. The municipality recently erected a high wall alongside the Arab houses cutting them off from the highway.

TWENTY YEARS JAIL SENTENCE

Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Mahmoud 'Abd al-Latif Dik from Tulkarm to twenty years in prison on charges of placing a bomb in a Petah Tikva market place. The bomb was discovered before it exploded.

SPORTS CLUB PREVENTED FROM TRAVEL

Israeli military authorities prevented the Hebron youth sports club football team from going to Amman to participate in the Arab Independence Tournament at al-Wahdat, scheduled to start today in Amman. The Israeli authorities gave no reasons for the ban imposed on the team.

The head of the club, Mohammed al-Uwaiwi, with two members of the administrative staff, were allowed to proceed to Amman carrying symbolic presents from the Hebron club to the participating teams.

June 15, 1984

RALLY IN JERUSALEM

A rally was held in the headquarters of the Hotel Workers Union in Jerusalem, attended by representatives of national institutions, the youth movement, women's societies and the student and union committees.

The participants sent an appeal to the participants in Aden's meetings to reaffirm national unity and expedite the convening of the PNC.

BOMBER KAHANE

Meir Kahane, the leader of the racist Kach movement, declared that he is ready to blow up the two holy Muslim places, the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque. He stated in a press conference in Tel Aviv that the members of the Jewish terrorist organisation performed 'holy' acts and therefore they should be backed. He called for an apology for their arrest. Kahane said he does not recommend demolishing the two sites at present because Israeli intelligence are everywhere in the area and they may arrest the perpetrators. Kahane made his statement in the course of replying to demands by some Israeli parties to ban his list from the coming elections. He strongly criticised the Labour, Shinui and Ratz parties.

A LAND BROKER FROM AL-JIB VILLAGE SELLS CITIZENS' LAND AND BUYS CARS WITH THE PROCEEDINGS

A land broker from al-Jib village, north of Jerusalem, sold a 9-dunum piece of land owned by his own father which is known as 'Karm ad-Dhar' to the Israeli authorities.

The broker forced his father to sign a paper empowering him to handle the land, claiming that the document was for a passport.

CONDEMNATION

The board of directors and the members of the Family Beach Club in Gaza condemn the assault on its headquarters. Furniture and the library were damaged.

CUSTOMS OFFICIALS CONTINUE THEIR CAMPAIGN AGAINST NABLUS MERCHANTS

Customs officials (VAT) randomly raided commercial shops in Nablus to collect money from the merchants. One merchant was forced to pay \$2 million in preliminary advance payment.

INVESTIGATION INTO VILLAGE LEAGUES LEADER'S INVOLVEMENT IN ATTEMPT ON ELIAS FREI'S LIFE

Investigation is underway into suspicions that Bishara Qumsieh, head of the Village Leagues in the Bethlehem district, and his sons were involved in an attempt on the life of Bethlehem Mayor Elias Frej. A recently arrested suspect, Hassan Khalif, has confessed that at Qumsieh's orders he stole an Uzi sub-machine gun to stage a shooting attack at Qumsieh himself, which would then have allowed Qumsieh to claim that the FLO

is trying to kill him. The Village League planned to use this claim to get funds, ostensibly to pay bodyguards, from Israeli authorities. Khalif escaped from detention more than a week ago and was reapprehended. Suspicions that police facilitated his escape have been aired.

June 16, 1984

DHEISHEH CAMP WITHOUT WATER

BETHLEHEM — Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem continues to suffer a water shortage. The Bethlehem municipality extends water to the camp only every 10 days and charges high prices. Camp residents complained about the lack of water and demanded that the municipality solve the problem as soon as possible.

NABLUSI RELEASED

NABLUS — Israeli authorities released Ahmad Walid Shukko, 20, after serving his one-year sentence.

SKINNER APPEALS FOR CAMP YOUTH

BETHLEHEM — Reliable sources in UNRWA confirmed that Roy Skinner, director of UNRWA operations, handed UN Secretary-General de Cuellar a letter on behalf of UNRWA refugee camp youth centres, many of which have been closed by Israeli military authorities.

POETRY RECITAL

BEIT JALA — Poet Panayotes Zeidan recited his own national and humanistic poems to a packed hall at the Arab Orthodox Club.

June 17, 1984

CONFERENCE TO CONFRONT TAX RAIDS

JERUSALEM — Merchants held a conference at the Chamber of Commerce to discuss ways and means of confronting the tax raids by the Israeli authorities. The speakers called upon the Chamber to step up efforts to use more effective and decisive means to alleviate the tax burden imposed on merchants and citizens. Merchants said they may adopt a warning strike which may develop into an open one, besides other means.

21 MONTHS FOR ANTI-ARAB TERROR

JERUSALEM — District Court sentenced Hazoun Levi, an activist in the extremist Kach movement, to 21 months in prison. The term may be reduced to ten months for good behaviour. Levi was charged with burning three Arab cars in Jerusalem, throwing Molotov bombs through the window of an Arab house in Shu'fat and taking part in the shooting ambush of an Arab bus near Ramallah. Six Arab workers were injured in the incident. A charge of murder was dropped through plea bar-

gaining. The defendant is an American citizen.

PETITION TO ORDER POLICE TO GUARD BIDYA LAND

TULKARM — Two advocates, Mohammed Na'amneh and Nidal Taha, petitioned the High Court in Jerusalem to issue an order reinforcing an earlier order that Yagir Company stop its work on land owned by sixteen Arabs from Bidya village, near Khalat Hassan.

A BOMB DETONATED AT BEIT SAFAFA FOOTBALL FIELD

JERUSALEM — A bomb was discovered at Beit Safafa football field at 9 pm last night as a football game was scheduled to take place between the teams of Ahle al-Khalil and al-Thowri Club. Police detonated the bomb. No injuries or damages were reported.

SIX ESCAPE FROM RAFAH PRISON

GAZA — Six Arab prisoners escaped from Rafah prison. One of the escapees was rearrested in the prison yard. Police and the border police forces have launched a search for the other five, all non-security prisoners. One is an Egyptian who was arrested for entering the country illegally.

STUDENT'S REMAND EXTENDED 40 DAYS

RAMALLAH — Israeli military court in Ramallah extended remand for Taha Mohammed Abd al-Halim al-Faqeh from Qatanna village, near Ramallah, 40 more days. Al-Faqeh was arrested 18 days ago. A student at Bir Zeit University, al-Faqeh spent 15 years in Israeli prisons.

June 18, 1984

HEBRON PRISON STRIKE ENDS

HEBRON — Agreement was reached between political prisoners in Hebron prison and the prison administration to end the one-year strike by prisoners against deteriorating conditions. Representatives of the prisoners' families took part in the negotiations.

DEFENCE MINISTRY SETTLEMENT ABOVE NABLUS

NABLUS — A cornerstone was laid in a ceremony starting work on the second stage of the settlement town Alfe Mansheh, in the Nablus mountains. Five hundred separate housing units were completed in the first stage and 400 more are to be built immediately. The town is built for 3000 units and is financed by the ministries of housing and defence. The majority of its inhabitants will be regular army soldiers and members of defence employ-

ees' families. A kindergarten, a commercial centre and a clinic are already built.

A CLINIC AT BEIT LIQYA

BEIT LIQYA — A clinic was opened in the headquarters of the Food Industries Employees Union at Beit Liqya village, northwest of Jerusalem, to be staffed by one physician a week from Augusta Victoria Hospital.

EXPLOSIVE CHARGE IN BUS STATION

An explosive charge was discovered in the Kiryat Gat bus

station, a Jewish settlement in the Naqab, about 10 kilometres west of the Gaza Strip. The charge was defused.

June 19, 1984

ARENS WORRIED ABOUT ARABS' SECURITY

Moshe Arens, Israeli defence minister, announced at Julis village in the Galilee that Arab residents will not be allowed to visit their relatives in Lebanon during the coming *Id al-Fitr*

holidays. Arens claimed that the ban resulted from Israel's concern over the safety of Israeli Arab citizens.

GOLDEN FEATHER TO HANNA MUQBIL

The Writers' Union in the German Democratic Republic posthumously awarded Hanna Muqbil, Secretary-General of the Arab Journalists Union, the Golden Feather medal. Muqbil was assassinated in Cyprus May 3.

YOUTHS SENTENCED

Israeli military court in

Jenin sentenced Khalil 'Adi Zughalbi from Jenin to two years in prison and two-and-a-half years suspended for throwing a Molotov cocktail. Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Abd al-Karim Ahmad al-Huzaihi from al-Ta'amreh, Bethlehem district, to four months in prison. Israeli authorities arrested Abdullah Ahmad al-Huzaihi June 11 on his return from Jordan via the Allenby bridge. Nablus military court sentenced Abd al-Hakim Sawalha to one-and-a-half years in prison and three years suspended and sentenced 'Isam Shudi to five years in prison and 'Ali Abd al-Nasser Sawalha to three months in prison and a fine of IS25,000. The three are from

'Astra al-Shamaliya, near Nablus.

25 YEARS FOR QALQILYA MAN

QALQILYA — Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Abd al-Rahman Hashim Nufal, from Qalqilya, to 25 years in prison on charges of membership in the PFLP and attempting to set off a bomb in the Brenner School in Kfar Saba. Nabil Mohammed Yusuf Nufal, also from Qalqilya, was sentenced by the same court to 15 years in prison for helping Nufal although he himself did not actively participate in the attempt to plant the bomb.

continued from page 16

Settler Terror

He faces charges of attempted murder arising out of his alleged role in the attack on the mayors, the attempt to sabotage the buses and other ancillary charges.

7. Ya'acov Heineman, 36, Nov Susiya. 'Yankele' Heineman's name appears in the charge sheets in connection with the plot to blow up the Dome of the Rock and the attempted sabotage of the buses. A reserve air force pilot, he served as a flight instructor prior to his discharge.

Heineman is now accused of attempted murder in addition to the other charges most of the group face.

8. Dan Be'eri, 40, Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem. Originally a French Catholic, Be'eri immigrated to Israel some 15 years ago and became a deeply religious convert to Judaism. He worked as a teacher and social worker and is considered an outstanding religious scholar.

Be'eri is alleged to have gathered information necessary for the planning of the attempt to sabotage the car of the East Jerusalem engineer Ibrahim Dakkak in Wadi Joz and to have participated in the plot to blow up the Dome of the Rock.

He faces a charge of attempted murder in addition to the other charges.

9. Gij'ad Peli, 30, Keshet. A graduate of Mercat Harav in Jerusalem, Peli is the son of one of the veterans of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's pre-state Lehi underground. He is also a cousin of Yehuda Etzion (suspect No 2) who is thought to have recruited him.

Peli pleaded guilty to membership in a terrorist organisation and to three counts of conspiracy. Sentencing is due this week.

10. Ze'ev Friedman, 30, Kiryat Arba. Better known as 'Zambish', Friedman has probably been one of the most prominent in the list of suspects long-known to journalists and Knesset members. He was elected as chairperson of the Kiryat Arba council and also served as the town's security coordinator. He is a reserve officer in the armoured corps.

According to the charge sheet, Friedman, together with Uri Maler, (suspect No 14) went to the home of prominent Palestinian leader Dr Ahmad Natshe in Bethlehem on the night of June 1 and planned to plant a bomb in his car. They were frightened off by a

neighbour's dog, which began barking as they approached the house.

In addition he is accused of having gathered intelligence on Dakkak and on the Dome of the Rock. He faces a charge of attempted murder in addition to the other charges.

11. Haim Ben-David (Kliager), 32, Keshet. One of the central figures among the settlers on the Golan, Ben-David is accused of participating in the Dome of the Rock plot, the attack on the mayors and the attempted bus sabotage. Among the founders of Keshet following the 1973 war, he was director of a field school there. He was among those active in trying to prevent the withdrawal from Kuneitra during the disengagement agreements with the Syrians.

He, together with Akale Ganiram (suspect No 5), is accused of going to Dakkak's house in Wadi Joz with a bomb which they intended to plant in his car. They could not find his car (Dakkak was abroad at the time) and had to abandon their plan.

Ben-David faces a charge of attempted murder arising out of this case and the attempt on the buses, as well as the other ancillary charges.

12. Uzi Sharabaf, 24, Jewish Quarter, Hebron. Together with Shauli Nir, Sharabaf, who is married to Rabbi Moshe Levinger's daughter, is accused of attacking the Islamic University last July. He is also accused of planting the time-bombs in the five buses in East Jerusalem.

In late December last year he is alleged to have planted booby-trapped grenades outside two mosques in Hebron in which two people were injured. His accomplice in this, according to the charge sheet, was 'Shauli' Nir (suspect No 3).

Sharabaf faces a charge of premeditated murder and attempted murder, as well as the other secondary charges.

13. Barak Nir, 25, Ramat Eshkol, Jerusalem. A former resident of Shavei Shomron settlement, he is thought to have been recruited by his older brother 'Shauli' and to have been the driver in the attack on the Islamic University. Both brothers, together with Uzi Sharabaf, are also alleged to have actually planted the time-bombs in the five buses in East Jerusalem on the night of April 26, 1984. Also accused of participating in the Dome of the Rock plot, he faces charges of premeditated murder, attempted murder and other offences.

14. Uri Maler, 36, Ramat Magshimim. According to the charge sheet, Maler, together with 'Zambish' Friedman (suspect No 10), attempted to plant a bomb in the car of Dr Ahmad Natshe in Bethlehem but were frightened off. He was also a part of the conspiracy to destroy the Dome of the Rock.

His arrest and arraignment before court deeply shocked residents of the Golan, where he was a central figure, active in establishing and running numerous regional factories. He faces a charge of attempted murder and is also alleged to have participated in the Dome of the Rock plot.

15. Boaz Heineman, 23, Moshav Nov. The youngest of all the alleged conspirators, Boaz is the son of the oldest of them, 'Benz' Heineman (suspect No 6). He is accused of stealing and preparing explosives for use in the Dome of the Rock plot and the attempt to blow up the buses. He is charged with attempted murder and other related offences.

16. Avinoam Katrieli, 23, Ramot, Jerusalem. A student at a yeshiva in the Old City of Jerusalem. Together with suspect No 17, Yossi Zuria, Katrieli is accused of posing as an army officer in order to buy a silencer for an Uzi submachine gun. He also provided Yehuda Etzion (suspect No 2) with special ammunition necessary for a silenced Uzi. Etzion gave the weapon and ammunition to Yeshua Ben-Shoshan (suspect No 4) who hid them in Jerusalem, according to the charge sheet. All of the alleged actions were part of the plot to blow up the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa.

Katrieli is accused of conspiracy and the illegal possession of arms. After a plea bargain, the charge of membership in a terror organisation was dropped.

17. Yosef Zuria, 25, Ramat Hasharon. Zuria entered a guilty plea to conspiracy to attack the Dome of the Rock, illegal possession of weapons and aggravated fraud. He is due to be sentenced next month.

18. Menahem Neuberger, 28, Susiya. He is accused of gathering intelligence for the attack on Dr Natshe in Bethlehem and of having participated in the plot to attack the Dome of the Rock. Charged with attempted murder and other ancillary offences.

19. Noam Yinon, 27, Keshet. Following plea bargaining by his counsel, Yinon pleaded guilty to transporting 50 mines from the Golan to other conspirators in the West Bank. He has already been convicted.

20. Yehuda Cohen, 25, Ofra. Alleged to have collected intelligence for the planned attack on the Dome of the Rock, Cohen has been released on bail.

21. Yossi Edri, 23, Kiryat Arba. A yeshiva student at Kiryat Arba, Edri is alleged to have bought the clocks that served as the timing devices for some of the bombs Livni (suspect No 1) and Shauli Nir (suspect No 3) prepared for the planned attack on the buses. He faces a charge of attempted murder.

22. Moshe Zar, 47, Karnei Shomron. Probably the leading land dealer on the West Bank, Zar is one of the best known of the accused. His name has been linked in several cases involving fraudulent land transactions, one of which is still pending, and in cases where pressure was allegedly used to bring about the transfer of privately owned Arab land. In March 1983, Zar was attacked and critically injured by residents of the village of Jinsafout, with whom he was involved in a land dispute.

Zar is alleged to have participated in sabotaging Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a's car on June 1, 1980. His alleged accomplice in the attack was Natan Nathanson of Shilo (suspect No 25). Their suspected driver was Ira Rappaport, currently a Gush Emunim aliyah emissary in New York.

Zar faces a charge of attempted murder or, alternatively, causing grievous bodily harm.

23. Hagai Segal, 27, Ofra. One of the current editors of *Nekuda*, the settlers' magazine, Segal once wrote an article criticising the magazine's description of the persons responsible for the 1980 attack on the mayors as "criminals."

Segal is accused of planting a bomb in the car of Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf and of booby-trapping the garage of al-Bireh Mayor Ibrahim Tawil. A border police sapper, Suleiman Hirbawi, was blinded when the bomb outside Tawil's garage exploded.

Segal was also a regular contributor to *Ma'ariv* and was reportedly recruited to the organisation by suspect No 2, Yehuda Etzion, also of Ofra. He faces a charge of attempted murder or, alternatively, causing grievous bodily harm.

24. Yitzhak Novik, 36, Ofra. Novik is

in the attacks on Khalaf and Tawil. Like Segal and Zar, Novik is not said to be involved in any other of the alleged terrorist conspiracy's activities.

25. Natan Nathanson, 27, Shilo. A former secretary of the Shilo settlement, 'Nus' Nathanson currently serves as the chairperson of its absorption committee. He is active in Gush Emunim and on the Mateh Binyamin local council.

Nathanson is accused, together with Moshe Zar, of planting a bomb in Bassam Shaka'a's car outside his home in Nablus and possibly with his neighbour from Shilo, Ira Rappaport.

From the evidence now emerging in court, it also appears that Nathanson was active in winning the alleged cooperation of one of the army officers now also standing trial for their part in the affair. The officer is also a resident of Shilo.

Nathanson is accused of murder or, alternatively, causing grievous bodily harm. (Reprint: The Jerusalem Post, June 19, 1984)

1. **Menahem Livni, 37, the Jewish Quarter, Hebron.** Livni is the alleged leader of the terrorist organisation, and his name appears at the top of the list of the five charges in which various members are said to have taken part. He is also thought to be among the founders of the underground, which, according to the charge sheet, began to form as early as 1978.

A graduate of the Technion and a qualified engineer, Livni is also commander of a reserve battalion of army engineers. He was elected chairperson of the Kiryat Arba council in 1977. From the charge sheet, Livni appears to be the person who decided on attacks, planned them, recruited others, prepared explosive charges and trained alleged accomplices in their use, but he did not actually physically participate in any of the attacks themselves.

Apart from the charges of membership in and activities on behalf of a terrorist organisation, Livni faces charges of premeditated murder arising out of last year's attack on the Islamic University in Hebron, attempted murder, conspiracy to commit a crime, the illegal possession of weapons and damage to army property.

2. **Yehuda Etzion, 33, Ofra.** Together with Livni, Yehuda Etzion emerges as one of the founders and central figures of the organisation. He is charged with involvement in the plot to blow up the al-Aqsa Mosque and the attempted assassination of the West Bank mayors and other Palestinian leaders.

He was one of the founders of Ofra, leading Gush Emunim settlement. Etzion was elected a member of the Gush's central committee and wrote and edited several of the movement's publications.

He is charged with offences under the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance, 1948, attempted murder, conspiracy, possession of explosives and damage to military property.

3. **Shaul Nir, 30, Jewish Quarter, Hebron.** Nir is alleged to have been one of the leading participants in all of the suspected activities of the organisation apart from the 1980 attack on the mayors. He is also charged with having conducted his own 'private' operation when on October 29 1982 he allegedly placed two booby-trapped Israeli army shrapnel grenades in the courtyard of the Hussein School in Hebron. One grenade exploded there, wounding two youths.

Together with Livni, Nir is accused of having decided on attacks on mosques in Hebron and of having planted booby-trapped grenades outside mosques in late December 1983 together with Uzi Sharabaf, (suspect number 12). Two Muslim guards were injured when the grenades exploded.

He is alleged to have been one of the people who attacked the Islamic University in Hebron in July of last year, together with Levinger's son-in-law Uzi Sharabaf (suspect number 12).

He now faces a charge of premeditated murder, attempted murder, membership in a terrorist organisation and other ancillary charges.

4. **Seren Yeshua Ben Shoshan, 34, Jerusalem.** A serving captain in the Israeli army, Ben Shoshan is alleged to have known and approved of the attempt to blow up the Dome of the Rock, the attack on the mayors, the Islamic University murders and the planned sabotage of the buses.

Until his arrest he was serving as an officer in charge of the area defence in the Ramallah area, military units made up predominantly of the settlers themselves.

He maintained some loose contact with Sharon, and the former military

governor of the West Bank and now No 2 on Ezer Weizman's Yahad list, reserve brigadier-general Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, was considered a good friend.

As an alleged party to the plot to attack the Islamic University, Ben Shoshan faces a murder charge in addition to attempted murder and other ancillary charges mentioned above.

5. **Yitzhak Ganiram, 46, Ramat Magshimim.** One of the first settlers in Kiryat Arba, 'Akale' Ganiram is one of the veterans of Levinger's group of settlers. He accompanied the rabbi in 1968 when they booked into the Park Hotel as 'Swiss tourists' and then announced that they were in the city to stay.

Elected to the central committee of Gush Emunim in 1973-74, Ganiram moved to Ramat Magshimim, the Gush's settlement on the Golan.

He is accused of participating in the attack on the mayors, the plot to blow up the Dome of the Rock and the attack on the Islamic University. In this case he was informed of the plan after it had been conceived, and provided the attackers with the car they used. Ganiram is accused of premeditated murder and the other ancillary charges.

6. **Benzion Heineman, 48, Susiya.** The oldest of the alleged conspirators, Heineman is also one of the veterans of the 1968 return to Hebron. He was elected to the first executive committee

of Gush Emunim together with Levinger, former Tehiya MK Hanan Porat and Benny Katzover of Eilon Moreh. He was among the founders of Moshav Nov on the Golan and is considered a central and prominent figure in the settlement movement.

'Benz' is considered a wealthy man, with widespread interests in land, construction, orchards and even an apary. He also initiated the establishment of the settler's restaurant in Hebron and remains a shareholder. He is reported to have made large contributions to the settlement effort. He supplied transport and equipment for many of the settlers' demonstrations and early efforts at establishing themselves.

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The Settler Terror Underground Exposed

